NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Childs Makes Tour of Illinois Cities

With the way open for the first time for Illinois cities (except Chicago) to adopt the council-manager form of government, civic groups throughout the state are campaigning for the plan.

Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's Executive Committee and volunteer staff member, accepted invitations for a series of speeches in Illinois last month:

January 14—Chicago City Club luncheon, on "Short Ballot Reform in Illinois."

January 15—mass meeting at Bloomington, where petitions have been circulated for a vote on the council-manager plan.

January 16—meeting of Springfield Manufacturers and Employers Association, which was among the organizations active in obtaining favorable action by the legislature.

January 17—Galesburg Rotary Club luncheon.

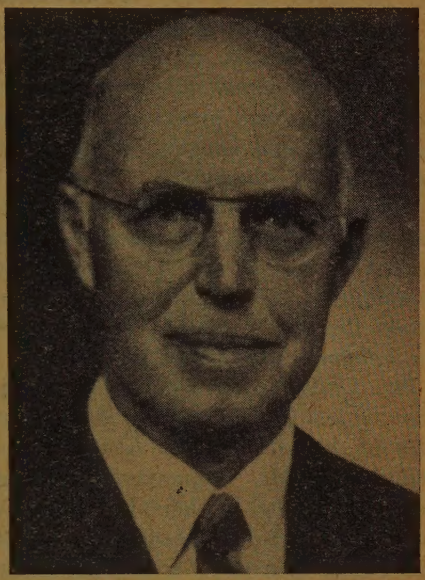
January 17—evening meeting with Lincoln League of Women Voters and others.

January 18—meeting of Geneva League of Women Voters.

January 20 — Calumet City, where a committee is organizing.

The enabling act to permit the people of Illinois cities to adopt the council-manager plan was adopted by the state legislature last June after a 30-year fight led by the Illinois League of Women Voters and other groups. The legislature finally capitulated after many newspapers and the State Chamber of Commerce joined the struggle.

First Illinois city to act under the new law was Mt. Vernon which on October 2 adopted the plan by a five to one vote. Second adoption was by Brookfield which had already had the plan unofficially through the expedient of employing a manager without benefit of legal provisions. The third was Peoria, which adopted the plan January 21.



RICHARD S. CHILDS

Other Illinois cities interested include Waukegan, Champaign, Urbana, La Grange, Des Plaines, Cicero, Wheaton, Freeport, Rochelle and Maywood.

Mr. Childs also spoke January 21 in Mount Vernon, Illinois, where he presented the "All-American Cities of 1951" certificate to O. R. Buford at a public meeting, and on January 22 at Kansas City, Missouri, where, at a "Town Meeting" called by the Citizens League of Kansas City, Mayor William E. Kemp received a similar certificate on behalf of the people of the city.

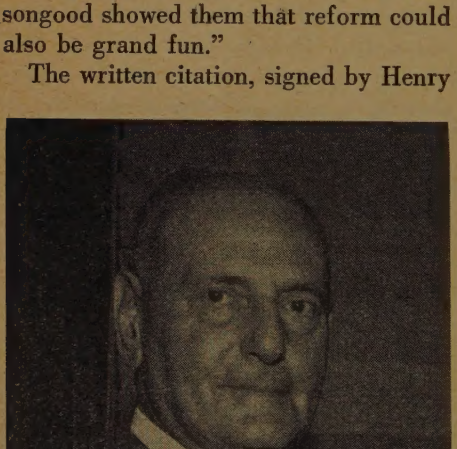
Murray Seasongood—Good Citizen

A surprise feature of the annual dinner November 27 at the National Conference on Government at Cincinnati was the informal citation of Hon. Murray Seasongood, former Cincinnati mayor and former president of the National Municipal League, for his many years of civic leadership.

When Mr. Seasongood, who was acting as toastmaster, introduced Charles Edison as one of the speakers of the evening, Mr. Edison turned and introduced Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee.

Mr. Childs, referring to Cincinnati, "the largest city practicing the principles of our *Model City Charter*," recalled that Mr. Seasongood had, in many other local battlefields, "with dry and happy humor, turned civic forums into scenes of gayety for us as he made monkeys of resisting politicians. Other men imparted a degree of religion and stern purpose to such audiences; Seasongood showed them that reform could also be grand fun."

The written citation, signed by Henry Bruère, League president; Charles Ed son, chairman of the Council, and Mr. Childs, chairman of the Executi Committee, read as follows:



"On the occasion of the annual di ner of the National Conference Government in Cincinnati, the eveni of November 27, 1951, we wish to e press the appreciation and gratitude d you from good citizens everywhere f the example you have set during t greater part of your useful life.

"There are many who know in the hearts that making a reality of our sy tem of self-government calls for intel gent participation in public affai There are, unhappily, relatively fe who give it.

"You, Murray Seasongood, have fre ly and joyfully given of yourself, yo energies, your inspiration. You ha done miraculously well in helping yo own city of Cincinnati achieve a way handling its own affairs that makes yo fellow citizens justly proud of the co munity in which they live and work a raise their families. More important f the future of this nation, what you a your friends have done here has be an inspiration and guide to people hundreds of other communities throug out the land.

"You have earned the proudest titles: Good Citizen."

New Issue of "The Story"

A 1952 revision of *The Story of t Council-Manager Plan*, most popular the League's publications, was pu lished in January. Its pages are slight larger than in preceding editions a it includes 1950 population figures all council-manager places.

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Editorial Comment

The Voter Needs a Break

EVIDENCE as to how well voters know what they are doing on election day turns up rarely.

When Brand Whitlock, famous mayor of Toledo, was asked, as he came from the polls leaving behind one of Ohio's long ballots, "Whom did you vote for?," he responded, "How should I know?"

Nearly everyone votes for a few officers he knows about and for numerous others — minor officers — whose names and qualifications are mysteries. Everybody knows this is true — but how to measure it?

Last August an informative bit of evidence came from the House Committee report on the election contest between Walter B. Huber (D) and William H. Ayres (R) in an Ohio congressional district.

Mr. Huber, defeated by 1,921 votes, demonstrated that some county boards of elections had failed to rotate his name an approximately equal number of times to the top of the list of three candidates. Mr. Ayres got top position in two counties 50 per cent of the time, middle position 25 per cent and bottom position 25 per cent, whereas Mr. Huber got top position only 25 per cent and bottom position 50 per cent of the time. Likewise on 148 voting machines. The official count gave Ayres 102,868, Huber 100,947 and Brenneman, the independent, 7,246.

As to the influence of this disparity in advantage of top position, the legal requirement of itself is testimony, supported by what evidence from past elections we do not know. The congressional committee's minority statement pointed out that Mr. Brenneman received 1,144 votes in 37 polling places where his name was on the top line on the voting machine and only 161 votes on 37 voting machines where his name was on the third line.

Mr. Huber claimed his name was at the bottom twice as many times as Mr. Ayres' in Democratic precincts where Mr. Huber could have been expected to make a good showing but that he got a poor vote when his name was at the bottom and that each time a candidate was in third place he received a smaller percentage of the vote than he received when in first place. Mr. Huber believed the evidence indicated that ballot position had made a critical difference, more than enough to offset the one per cent lead of Mr. Ayres.

The majority report of the committee seated Mr. Ayres on the ground that his opponent had failed to exhaust remedies available to him under state law.

The case shows how infirm are the convictions of many voters in a congressional election under long ballot conditions.

A second and more direct study is conveyed in the report of the Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government.[1] Michigan voters elect 25 state administrative officials and board members. With careful adherence to the best public opinion poll techniques, Bay County was singled out

[1]Lansing, Michigan, November 1951. See the REVIEW, January 1952, page 57.

as one exhibiting typical voter behavior in the past for study of the "impossible task that voters are expected to perform with our long ballots." Interviews in rural and urban sections produced 323 usable answers, all obtained on October 21, 1950, seventeen days before the well attended election.

To encourage frank admission of uninformedness some easy questions of no importance to the inquiry were asked in each interview. The first key question was, "Which of the state offices do you know most about?" The state highway commissioner was picked by 26 per cent but 75 per cent of these could not name him.

The secretary of state had recently run for governor. Of those who picked the secretary as the most familiar minor officer, 73 per cent could not name him; 77 per cent could not name the superintendent of public instruction; 81 per cent could not name the attorney general; 96 per cent could not name the treasurer who had been in office the longest of the incumbent minor officers.

Another test of 500 college students showed that 96 per cent could not name certain of the minor state elected officers.

The conclusion, says the report, "would seem to raise a serious challenge against the validity of electing officers to fill such positions."

Democracy is thwarted, not aided, by requiring the people to express opinions they do not have. Obviously this system, which is all too prevalent, makes these officers appointive now—but by behind-the-scenes ticket makers.

The task of political reform is to clear away the clutter and trickery, thereby thwarting the manipulator instead of the voter.

Correction

On page 23 of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW for January 1952, the title, "Tax Rates of American Cities for 1950," should read, "Tax Rates of American Cities for **1951**." On page 24, the 36th city should read Jersey City, N. J.

A Plan to Meet Disaster

Kansas City flood shows trained city personnel rather than volunteers must be depended on for emergencies.

By L. P. COOKINGHAM*

IT IS probably safe to assume that most, if not all, American cities are today unprepared to face severe damage by fire, flood or bombing. Certainly Kansas City was not prepared when flood struck her on July 13, last year; yet she fought, contained her devastating enemy and, within a much shorter time than almost anyone believed possible, was back to normal again.

I have been fortunate, if I may apply that word to such activities, in having witnessed first-hand the recovery operations in the Texas City disaster and in having participated actively in Kansas City's struggle against the disaster which visited her last year. From these two varied but definitely related experiences, I have drawn three basic conclusions:

First, it must be realized that you can plan to meet disaster rather than wait for it and thus be better able to combat effectively any destructive force which may be visited upon a city.

Second, the problem of organization which must be faced in fighting disaster is basically the same whether the catastrophe be in the form of fire, water or explosion—including the atomic bomb.

Third, it is the everyday municipal organization which must be readied to meet the disaster menace rather than a volunteer, part-time unit. Let me hasten to say, lest I be misunderstood, that volunteer organizations can be, and are, of vast assistance, but they are not geared for the immediate action mandatory in an emergency. Volunteers enter the scene minutes or hours after the disaster has struck.

It should be made clear that these remarks pertain to civil defense planning as well as other disasters which may be faced by any American city in this day of strife and uncertainty. In fact, municipal officials might be better off if they thought of civil defense as one more of their numerous problems rather than something which can be solved only by the federal government. Municipalities are the front line of civil defense and disaster preparedness.

A disaster plan should set forth in broad outline a disaster organization. This organization should be streamlined, with a headquarters capable of being housed in a compact location, and should make use of pertinent sectors of a normal municipal organization. Inasmuch as this organization may have to fight a variety of disasters, flexibility is highly desirable.

*Mr. Cookingham has been manager of Kansas City, Missouri, ever since that city's voters, in 1940, threw off the yoke of Pendergastism and declared for good government. Previously he had served in the same capacity for three Michigan cities—Clawson, Plymouth and Saginaw. Mr. Cookingham is a former president of the International City Managers' Association. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

Thus, only a broad organizational outline is prescribed. Broad responsibilities should be fixed and one overall executive should be provided who, in my opinion, should be the chief administrative officer of the city.

Organization and Personnel

The top executive should have no more than eight persons directly responsible to him during the height of the emergency. These should include a director of all field forces, a director responsible for the manning and operation of disaster headquarters, a director responsible for relations with utilities, a director responsible for fire fighting forces, a director responsible for maintaining law and order, a director responsible for liaison with private and other governmental emergency agencies, a public relations officer and a director responsible for volunteer personnel. As disaster abates and the city moves into the rehabilitation period, this organization must be expanded to include such fields as finance, planning, etc.

The director responsible for volunteer personnel should recruit and train a suitable volunteer organization to supplement regular city forces. Of course, this must be done prior to disaster to be effective. During the actual disaster this director should handle assignment of volunteer personnel if the disaster is of such proportion that it necessitates the use of volunteer help.

If the disaster plan provides such a broad organization, it can be adjusted to meet the exigencies of any situation. If the organization is too complex, however, it will be too unwieldy to keep pace with the swiftly changing situations which may arise under disaster conditions.

Highly mobile and efficient personnel are of great importance in an emergency situation. I have already stated my belief that a disaster organization should be built upon the structure of the municipal organization. Only in this way will trained personnel, conversant with the various installations in the city, be immediately available. In addition, the regular city employees constitute the only large nucleus of personnel which can be thrown into the fight against disaster immediately. It is entirely appropriate that municipal employees be thought of as "minutemen" of preparedness.

Yet, a large-scale disaster undoubtedly will demand more man power than the municipal organization or possibly even a volunteer organization can furnish. Particularly will this be true of laborers. Rather than make a public appeal for volunteer laborers, better results will probably be achieved if a local group such as a central labor union or a civic club is delegated to act as the recruitment center for establishment of a labor pool. Such a group can register volunteers at its headquarters, organize them into groups and appoint leaders. Volunteers then will be ready for movement as a compact disciplined group whenever and wherever they are needed. If this plan of recruiting is followed, the embarrassing and morale-breaking experience we had in Kansas City of having several hundred volunteers on our hands for

several hours with no plans for their utilization will be avoided.

The disaster plan and consequently the disaster organization will be singularly ineffective if it goes no further than the paper stage. You must practice.

Training the Organization

City employees who in an emergency will be assigned technical duties such as cutting off utility services or manning sewer-pumping stations can have periodic rehearsals to become familiar with the location of equipment and with the other aspects of their jobs. Field crews and administrative personnel can be alerted occasionally to insure their knowing where to report. Key directors can run periodic mock exercises to test the efficacy of their own organizations and communications. Such activities probably will not be necessary more than once or twice a year once the organization has been completed and key persons have learned their respective duties.

The matter of training is another reason why I prefer building the local disaster preparedness unit around the municipal organization rather than depending on a volunteer body. Not only will greater mobility be achieved but also the training problem will be greatly facilitated. In utilizing municipal employees, disaster training becomes part of the job rather than an extra-curricular activity which, of necessity, grows burdensome as time progresses. An additional advantage of building around the city employee group is the development of a substantial well trained staff into which the volunteer organization may quickly be integrated. It will be much easier to mobilize volunteers to supplement the municipal organization if the latter is a spirited, operating unit which can furnish inspiration and guidance to the volunteer group.

Let me emphasize that, whatever plan is utilized in organizing to meet disaster, it is of utmost importance that training and practice drills be carried on if the organization is to be effective.

Public Information

In any disaster—and I want to emphasize this—a good, honest public information program is absolutely essential. Only in this way can public cooperation and public acceptance of the efforts to fight disasters be assured. The disaster plan must anticipate this need.

The over-all executive should assume responsibility for the public information program. At all times in his headquarters he should have a public information officer capable of composing concise and lucid news releases rapidly and accurately. This officer or a member of his staff should attend all meetings, be present wherever decisions are made and have as full knowledge of all proceedings as possible.

The over-all executive should approve all news releases submitted to him by the public relations officer prior to their release for publication. Specific arrangements for immediate delivery of news releases to all radio stations and newspapers must be made in advance. In addition, copies of all releases should be routed

throughout the disaster organization and to all cooperating agencies as a means of coordinating all disaster-fighting units.

The incidence of news releases will be governed to a great extent by the disaster situation. During the emergency a release issued on each hour should be a minimum, however, and releases always should be prepared for the early morning and the late evening news broadcasts. In Kansas City we released 50 news bulletins during the first 64 hours of our flood emergency. There is a direct correlation between the number of telephone calls received from the public and the number of news bulletins released. The more news bulletins released, the fewer calls will be received. But no matter how many bulletins are issued, many, many telephone calls will be received from the public.

To meet this situation and to keep disaster headquarters telephones open for actual emergency calls, the disaster plan should include an information center. A great percentage of the calls received from the public will be of such a general nature that any well informed person can answer them — hence, the recommendation for an information center to which all general inquiries can be routed by the central switchboard.

To be successful, such a center must be physically close to disaster headquarters and must be kept completely informed of all developments. One of the best ways to fulfill this latter requirement is to route all news releases and emergency orders to personnel manning the information center. It is also advisable to have each shift of information personnel briefed before going on duty. The briefing should be performed by the public information officer or a member of his staff.

Let me emphasize once more the importance of public information during disaster. Fear and ignorance, which spring one from the other, are the twin destroyers of public confidence. If panic seizes the city during disaster all the planning and all the efforts to combat its effects may go for naught.

Everything I have said has been based on the continuity of radio and telephone communication during the emergency. This might not be possible in all cases, particularly in event of a bombing. Yet public information is so important that planning must include establishment of temporary communications to handle this phase of the disaster.

Need for Coordination

As nearly perfect coordination as possible between the disaster organization and various other public and private agencies is essential. The poorest time to attempt to bring about such coordination is during or immediately after disaster strikes. To be effective, this coordination must be established prior to any emergency and therefore should be provided for in the disaster plan.

Provision for coordination should be defined to provide flexibility to meet varying situations. Primarily, the need is to establish the center tent pole, as it were, about which coordination will revolve and to establish with whom there must be coordination. This is no mean

problem in itself. During the Kansas City flood, we worked with the U. S. Army Engineers, the National Guard, the U. S. Public Health Service and the Red Cross—to mention a few. After the flood, some 32 federal agencies, as well as numerous private agencies, became involved in the rehabilitation phase. Moreover, there was the added problem of cooperation with the other governmental units comprising the metropolitan area of Greater Kansas City. Therefore, it is essential that coordination be planned and that you know with whom to coordinate.

As the city struck by disaster moves from the emergency to the rehabilitation phase, coordination is still of paramount importance and perhaps more difficult. During the actual emergency everyone has a common interest in defense against the disaster, but with the abatement of the emergency conflicting interests arise. This is natural, but it complicates the problem. The question of what shall be done first, who shall do it and how shall it be done constitutes a knotty problem. The municipal government is not organized to answer this question. It is my belief that a citizens coordinating committee, with a membership representative of the locality, should be appointed to administer the rehabilitation and to establish priorities, etc. The municipality can administer the rehabilitation of its own facilities and should be represented on the coordination committee, but the city must return to its normal duties as soon as possible if it is to continue operating satisfactorily.

I must admit that my remarks have been based upon the limited experience of observing one disaster and participating in the fight against another, some reading on the subject and a bit of "scientific" crystal ball gazing. As limited as that experience is, few American municipal officials have had much more. Certainly, none of us has administered an American municipality under bombing. As fortunate as the situation is, it does leave us short on experience —and experience is a great teacher.

Quick Restoration Necessary

In this day of uncertainty, when American cities are clearly within bombing range of an enemy, I feel that a bombing disaster is an exigency which must be faced. For this reason, I should like to see us profit as much as possible from the experiences of our British and European brothers who survived so much during World War II. There are several valuable compilations of British and European experience under bombing and wartime conditions as well as summaries of their present civil defense activities which should be read by every municipal official.

No matter what kind of disaster a city may suffer, it will be faced with a rehabilitation problem. This may be the most important phase of the disaster activity. Regardless of how diligently the particular disaster has been fought, the total effort will have been unsuccessful if community facilities and economic activity are not restored to normal at the earliest possible date.

This is extremely important today when such a large segment of the

population is living from one pay check to the next. These people cannot survive for long with their place of work closed. Not only will many individuals be affected but there will be a cumulative effect which will cost a highly developed municipality hundreds of thousands of dollars each day that any considerable portion of its business and industry is shut down. This, in turn, has its debilitating effect on the national economy and defense effort.

Increase Federal Aid

Yet no city in these times of inflated costs can finance in adequate measure a rehabilitation program for a disaster of major proportions. Kansas City has spent, or will spend, close to $1,400,000 in rehabilitation of municipal facilities alone, with approximately $980,000 of this cost being reimbursed by the federal government under Public Law 875. But what of the thousands of business and home owners who are forced to assume additional mortgages and liabilities if they are to continue to operate and to house their families adequately. This not only constitutes a heavy burden for the individual but it also seriously affects the local economy. Public Law 875 is a fine start towards aiding in the cost of rehabilitation following a disaster, but it must be extended to care for the individuals and the businesses unable to help themselves if those individuals and the local economy are not to suffer serious depletion after a disaster.

I want to carry this matter of rehabilitation a little further and apply it specifically to the municipality that may be bombed. Many people are under the impression that civil defense contemplates evacuating cities under threat of bombing. This is impossible. We cannot, in time of war, evacuate our cities and allow industries to lie idle. Think of the crippling blow this would inflict upon our national defense effort.

No, we cannot abandon our cities to enemy bombers. We must find ways to furnish adequate protection for our people so they can remain in the cities to keep industries running.

The corollary to this proposition is that we must be prepared to restore our cities to an operative condition at the earliest possible moment after a bombing. This is imperative if people are to live within these cities and if industries are to operate with a minimum of interference. It is apparent that cities cannot accomplish this alone. There must be assistance from the outside—probably from the federal government. It is my understanding that the Federal Office of Civil Defense is now in the process of establishing regional offices which will be responsible for coordinating the efforts of all federal agencies to meet any disaster within their region. This is a good start toward the problem of coordinating disaster agencies. It is my hope that these offices, once established, will quickly institute working relationships with municipalities in their jurisdictions.

So—don't wait! Your city may be flooded, razed by fire, desolated by hurricane, wracked by explosion or even bombed. A little planning now may save hundreds of lives and millions of dollars.

Politics in the Legislatures

Partisanship and two-party system take back seat to pressure groups and blocs in most states, survey shows.

By O. DOUGLAS WEEKS*

THE published materials on the legislatures of the forty-eight states deal largely with their formal, structural and procedural features and do not take adequately into account the part played by political parties and organization in the legislative process. The same may be said of most of the proposals for reforming or revitalizing these bodies. Such proposals can be, at best, only halfway measures if they ignore the matter of party organization and political control. Before we can successfully attack this basic problem, however, we need to assemble more facts about the operation of our party system and the nature of practical politics within our state lawmaking assemblies.

To make a start at filling this lacuna, I prepared in 1950, under the auspices of the Committee on American Legislatures of the American Political Science Association, an elaborate questionnaire which was sent to political scientists and legislative officers. From one to four replies were received from each state. The questionnaire covered many phases of party organization and activity in connection with the legislatures. It yielded a wealth of facts on variations in internal legislative party and factional leadership and machinery, the role of pressure groups and special and local interests, the part played by the governor in the legislative process and many other factors.

The findings in general substantiate the statement of Luce that "everywhere except in New York there is much less partisanship than is commonly supposed" and that "leadership is rarely now and in our time rarely has been a matter of party control." In fact, many gradations are to be found between the vigorous two-party system of New York and the chaotic factionalism within the one-party system of Florida, and these gradations are responsible for much variety in the political leadership and organization of the state legislatures.

In digesting and summarizing the results of the questionnaire, two approaches will be made: First, a general summary without regard to any classification of states according to varying types of party systems and, second, presentation of such a classification with a view to pointing up more clearly the marked differences between states with two-party systems, states with large majority and small minority parties, one-party states and the two states with nonpartisan legislatures.

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With respect to party spirit or cohesion, seventeen states reported it to be strong within the legislature, while thirty-one characterized it as occasional, moderate, weak or non-existent. Twenty-four states gave pressure or bloc politics a more important place than party politics, fourteen spoke of pressure groups and parties as of equal significance, and only seven rated party politics as more important. Twenty states out of forty-seven reported that local issues overshadowed statewide issues and twelve assigned local issues an important place. Thirty-three states asserted that national issues were of little or no effect in determining legislative votes and fifteen assigned them only a limited or occasional importance.

Party Strength

As to the effectiveness of internal majority party machinery in controlling the formal organization and procedure of the legislatures, the replies indicated that majority party organization was strong in twenty-eight senates and twenty-nine houses, moderately effective in six senates and five houses and weak or non-existent in eleven senates and ten houses.

Well defined and continuous factional leadership and organization within the majority party was reported by twenty-four states. Factionalism within the all-important majority party in the legislatures of North Dakota and Virginia was indicated as being sufficiently strong to constitute the practical equivalent of a two-party system. A dual political division in the "nonpartisan" Minnesota legislature produces much the same effect.

Minority parties were reported to be well organized within one or both houses in eighteen states, moderately so in ten and non-existent in eighteen. Administrative leadership was stated to be exceptionally effective in controlling the internal organization of both houses of the legislatures of five states: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, New Mexico and Tennessee.

Replies with respect to the presence or absence of the familiar agencies of internal legislative majority party organization may be briefly summarized. Majority party caucuses were reported as non-existent in fifteen senates and fourteen houses. In only thirteen states do they meet frequently and exert, or attempt to exert, any significant control over their members or the program of the legislature. In these states the meetings range from daily to three or four times a session. In none of these states are caucus decisions binding and only in New Jersey do majority caucuses control the legislative program.

Minority caucuses in one or both houses are to be found in only twenty-five states, and they are of some importance only in thirteen. Powerful partisan or factional presiding officers were reported in fourteen senates and thirty-five houses, steering committees in both houses of eleven legislatures and significant rules or sifting committees in thirteen senates and fourteen houses. Party or factional floor leaders are important in thirty-one senates and thirty houses; and standing committees play a dominant role in twenty-

seven senates and twenty-nine houses.

Standing Committees

With respect to standing committees, some important deviations from the congressional pattern may be noted. Ten one-party states reported no minority party representation on standing committees and three other such states that such representation, because of the small size of the minority party, was not invariable. In the choice of standing committee chairmen, seniority figures prominently only in fourteen senates and twelve houses and is not a factor in twenty-three senates and thirty-six houses. Where seniority is not a consideration a wide variety of factors in the selection of chairmen was indicated, such as personal ability or experience, favoritism of presiding officers, party prestige, administrative choice and personal preferences of members.

Ten states reported that committee chairmen tend to dominate their committees, eleven that the committee majority usually has the upper hand, ten that the relationship varies from one to the other, and thirteen that the majority oligarchy controlling the chamber exerted over-all authority over committees and their chairmen. In at least half the chambers discharge rules were reported as either ineffective or used rarely.

Some interesting facts were provided on gubernatorial leadership and independent activities of administrative agencies in the legislative process. Twenty-nine states reported that headship of the majority party was a significant factor in the governor's legislative leadership. Eighteen states stressed the governor's personal qualities as an additional or independent factor. Leadership of a dominant faction of his party was mentioned as a primary source of the governor's leadership in fourteen states and five indicated ability to control cross-party blocs as a principal basis of the governor's legislative influence.

Governor's Role

A wide variety of political techniques employed by governors was indicated, among which control of patronage and ability to maintain a working liaison with the legislature were most frequently mentioned. Administrative power, financial control, use of propaganda, framing the party program, appointment or control of legislative party or factional leaders, and the use of the veto and the message were also indicated by a number of states. Senatorial courtesy was reported as unimportant in more than half the states and several states indicated that senate opposition to gubernatorial nominations was exceptional.

Independent legislative activities on the part of administrative agencies do not figure prominently in twenty-five states, many of them states in which the governor has been made the effective head of the administration or in which he exerts strong political leadership or both. Eighteen states reported that the governor's office served as an effective clearing house for administrative proposals of legislation, fourteen that it was partly so, while fourteen gave negative answers. The departments or agencies most frequently men-

tioned as engaging in independent legislative activity were those concerned with highways, education, welfare and health. From state to state, many other varying agencies were named.

Much of the data secured take on additional significance if related to the types of party systems found in different states. We like to generalize on the superiorities of our two-party system, while admitting that we do not have a responsible system like that of Great Britain. The report of the Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association[1] makes some valuable suggestions as to how we may make our two-party system more responsible, but it does not tell us how to create a two-party system where it does not exist. Certainly in the legislatures of a large majority of our states a two-party system comparable to that of Congress is absent.

Relative Party Weight

As a matter of fact, there are only nineteen state legislatures in which the Democratic and Republican parties are fairly evenly matched and in which control is shifted frequently from one party to the other: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Washington and Wyoming.

In nine additional states—Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, West Virginia and Wisconsin (five Republican and four Democratic)—one or the other major party is normally in a dominant position. In these states the minority party holds a sizeable number of seats in one or both legislative houses, but the range is only from one-half to one-sixth the number of seats held by the majority party.

Into a third class fall the one-party legislatures of eighteen states—the eleven southern states together with Arizona, Kansas, Maine, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Vermont. In the southern states the minority party is either nonexistent or its number of seats is microscopic. In the rest the second party is discernible with the naked eye but quite small as to the percentage of seats held.

Lastly, in Minnesota and Nebraska legislative elections are nonpartisan and political parties receive no official recognition in the organization and functioning of the legislatures.

Within each of these four groups many variations present themselves. Divided control of the governorship and the legislature or of the two houses of the legislature between the two major parties is a usual situation in a number of the two-party states. In fact, during the last biennium, control of the three by the same party obtained in only four of the nineteen, and in the current biennium such control is found in only seven. The governorship was controlled by one party and both houses were in the hands of the opposing party in three two-party states during the last two-

[1] "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," *American Political Science Review* (Supplement), January 1950. 99 pages.

year period, and the same is true of six in the present period. The two houses of eight states were held by opposing parties during 1949-1951 and four states are in the same situation for 1951-1953. From 1949 to 1951 the major parties were tied in the senates of Massachusetts and Rhode Island and in the Wyoming house, and from 1951 to 1953 this condition continues in the last two states.

With respect to party spirit or cohesion, only twelve of the nineteen two-party states reported it to be strong, and of these twelve only six stated that pressure politics was definitely subordinate to party politics. Four two-party states reported only moderate party cohesion and three—California, Montana and Ohio — characterized party unity as weak with pressure politics playing a more important role. Legislative leadership by the governor was described as strong in nine two-party states, indifferent in five and weak in five. Majority party caucuses are of consirable significance in twelve of the nineteen, speakers in twelve and floor leaders in eleven. Most of the two-party states indicated the presence of effective sifting, steering or rules committees in one or both houses.

In the second general group of nine states in which there is a large majority party and a respectable, though considerably smaller, minority party, the larger party was in control of the governorship and both houses in all during the biennium 1949-1951, but in the elections of 1950 the smaller party was able to capture the governorships in Maryland and New Mexico, in the latter for the first time in twenty years. At present, in the seven remaining states of this group, five are under complete Republican control and two under Democratic control. In the nine states party cohesion is strong in both parties only in New Jersey. In Iowa and Maryland the unity of the majority party is fairly strong but that of the minority is weak. Both parties are loosely knit in Kentucky, New Hampshire and New Mexico. A shifting factionalism is characteristic of Oregon and Wisconsin.

While majority caucuses exist in all nine of these states, they hold no regular meetings except in New Jersey, where they meet daily and control the legislative programs of both houses. Occasional attempts to bind majority members by caucus decisions have been made in Kentucky, West Virginia and Wisconsin, but with little effect. In the last named state the joint caucus is the only form. Minority caucuses also are found in all these states but they function mainly for organization purposes. Presiding officers are reported as powerful in both houses in Maryland and New Mexico and in the lower houses of Iowa, Kentucky and Wisconsin. Steering or sifting committees operate in four of these states and governors exert effective legislative leadership in four.

One-party States

In the eighteen one-party states the position of the majority party in both legislative houses is monopolistic. At the present time the Democratic party holds all seats in both houses in Louisiana, Mississippi and

South Carolina. This was true also of the legislatures of Florida, Alabama and Texas during the last biennium. In the elections of 1950, however, the Republicans were able to capture three seats in the Florida house and one seat each in the lower houses of Alabama and Texas. Only in Kansas, Maine, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Tennessee is there a minority party strength of any size at all. In none of these states is there any majority party cohesion.

In half the one-party states—Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Virginia—a more or less continuous majority faction of the major party serves as something of a substitute for a majority party. This situation is most pronounced in North Dakota where the Republican Organizing Committee and the Nonpartisan League carry on a nip and tuck rivalry and in Virginia where the Byrd and anti-Byrd factions wage a less equal political warfare.

Factionalism in the other half of the one-party states is of a much more shifting, fluid and ephemeral character. In some of these states several conflicting and overlapping patterns of division in the legislatures follow each other in confusing succession, the principal divisions being rural *versus* urban, section *versus* section, administration *versus* anti-administration, conservatism *versus* liberalism and local *versus* statewide. Pressure politics and log-rolling combinations are reported to be exceedingly strong in fourteen of the one-party states.

Majority party caucuses exist in only five one-party states but are obviously of little or no importance; minority party caucuses, where there is a minority party, are rare. Presiding officers are powerful in both houses in five one-party states and in the lower houses in three more. Factional steering or rules committees function in five states and factional floor leaders in eleven.

Governors in One-party States

Quite remarkably, the governor is described as weak in legislative leadership in only six of the eighteen one-party states. The principal sources of this leadership appear to be five in number. Control of a dominant and more or less continuous faction of the party is found in six states — Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, South Dakota, Tennessee and Virginia. An effective liaison between the governor and the legislature usually obtains in six — Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. The governor's power over patronage figures prominently in Alabama, Georgia, Oklahoma and Texas. Actual selection of, or a strong control over, legislative officers and leaders was reported in Alabama, Louisiana and Georgia.

The strong position of the governor as the result of administrative reorganization is given as an additional source of his legislative leadership in Tennessee and Virginia. It is apparent, therefore, that governors in one-party states who exert considerable influence over the legislatures do so as majority leaders rather than as majority party leaders, in some cases with greater difficulty and in others with greater ease than is experienced by governors who wield

genuine party leadership in two-party states.

Lastly, the contrasting political situations in the nonpartisan legislatures of Minnesota and Nebraska should be briefly noted. In Minnesota a strong "conservative-liberal" division exists in both houses. The conservative group, which is usually in control, is made up of many Republicans and some Democrats. The liberals largely correspond to the Farmer-Labor party. Group caucuses exert considerable influence and presiding officers, floor leaders and rules committees controlled by the majority group are strong in both houses. The governor, although officially partisan, exerts influence over the legislature in a factional or bloc sense. In Nebraska, on the other hand, the legislature seems to operate on a strictly nonpartisan basis.

A Variety of Patterns

Various conclusions can be drawn from this information. Most important is the variety of patterns into which party organization and control in the legislatures fall. Even though it is possible to group the states into four major categories with respect to general types of party or political organization, it is still true that the party system or lack of party system in each state, as reflected in the legislature and in its relationship to the governor, is peculiar. It is also evident, except in a few of the two-party states, that no state legislature comes near having the kind of party system found in Congress. The state lawmaking bodies present too many contrasting pictures of political leadership, partisanship and factionalism.

The problems of the state legislative reformer, therefore, would seem to be almost insuperable within the realm of practical politics. Certainly, few general suggestions can be made which would fit the wide variety of political situations which obtain in the forty-eight legislatures. Obviously, if a two-party system is desirable, it is hard to see how it can be created in states where it does not exist. It is equally difficult to render existing two-party systems more responsible. Perhaps a few general suggestions can be made, however, which would be more or less applicable to all the states and which might conduce to more effective political control within the legislatures, even if a system of responsible party government could not be assured by their adoption.

These would include: (1) fair apportionments of legislative seats; (2) synchronization of the terms of senators, representatives and governor; (3) separation of state elections from national and local elections; (4) improvement of party nominating methods so as to insure greater responsibility of the majority party or dominant faction; (5) creation of party agencies which could better formulate policies and more effectively coordinate the independent branches of state government; (6) more effective regulation of lobbying and the elimination of private, local and detailed legislation; and (7) strengthening of the legislative and administrative powers of the governor.

Cities Win More State Funds

Shared revenues in Michigan increase 284 per cent in six years as result of fight by revenue-starved communities.

By DENZEL C. CLINE*

MICHIGAN municipalities are faring better in their fiscal relations with the state than ever before. Under 1951 highway legislation they obtain twice as much from state motor vehicle taxes as previously. Amounts received from other sources of revenue collected by the state have increased tremendously. There is almost a Cinderella story behind the changed position of Michigan cities, although it hardly can be attributed to fiscal fairies waving a wand.

Municipal sharing in state collected revenues, long practiced in some states, began in Michigan during the 1930s. By 1941 municipalities—incorporated cities and villages—were receiving small amounts from three kinds of shared revenues. These were state retail liquor licenses, motor vehicle taxes (earmarked by constitutional amendment for highway purposes) and the newly imposed low-rate tax on intangible property.

The total from these sources going to cities and villages was about $11,900,000 in the state's fiscal year ending June 30, 1944, equal to fourteen cents per dollar of the total property taxes they had levied for municipal purposes. In fiscal 1950 these units obtained $45,600,000 from state shared revenues, of which half came from the 3 per cent retail sales tax. In six years, municipal income from state collected taxes rose 284 per cent and was equal to 33 cents per dollar of property taxes levied for city and village budgets.

For many years some cities were having acute revenue difficulties. These may be divided into two principal groups, Detroit and some others in the metropolitan area and the group of "fifteen-mill cities." The latter included Grand Rapids, Saginaw, Flint, Pontiac, Battle Creek, Jackson, Muskegon and a few small cities.

The people of Michigan began in 1932 their curious penchant for writing tax legislation by constitutional amendment when the property tax limitation amendment (Article X, Section 21) was adopted. It provides that, with certain exceptions, the total taxes on property in any year shall not exceed 1½ per cent of its assessed valuation. An early court decision held that although the limitation applies to other taxes on property in cities and villages, taxes for municipal purposes are not required by the constitution to be included within the maximum of 15 mills per dollar of assessed valuation.

However, by 1935 the people of eleven cities had voted upon themselves the fifteen-mill strait-jacket by

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requiring that municipal, as well as school and county taxes, must be included within the over-all maximum rate. In the following decade the tax fights in some of these municipalities were intense but the voters regularly vetoed every proposition to authorize higher property tax rates. Increasing pressure for additional revenue for municipal, school and county purposes was developing throughout the state but it was especially pronounced in the fifteen-mill cities. There were portents of a coming explosion if no safety valve was provided.

Tax Study Committee

As prices rose in the war period, the need for additional municipal funds became acute. At the same time the war-borne prosperity was swelling the state's coffers with a rising flood of sales tax and liquor revenues. That memento of the lean and hungry 30s, a sizeable state deficit, was liquidated and the general fund balance began appearing again in fashionable black. What was commonly referred to as the "growing state surplus" was not unnoticed by revenue-starved municipalities. Such broad hints were being dropped for a slice of the sales tax that a special session of the legislature was called early in 1944. As a consequence, an advisory tax study committee of some 30 members was appointed to investigate, among other things, "ways and means of providing necessary revenues to local units of government compatible with principles of strong local self-government and enterprise."

This group submitted to the 1945 legislature a program which would have been greatly to the advantage of the cities. The committee recommended changes in the intangibles tax and motor vehicle tax laws which would have doubled the revenue of municipalities from these sources. Even more important were two proposals to expand the taxing power of cities. One was for enactment of a law authorizing the governing body of any city or village to impose locally administered excise taxes. Although this would not have affected the state's revenue, such legislation has not been adopted.

The committee's other self-help proposal was more novel and was intended to forestall demands that the state sales tax be earmarked for distribution to local units as a shared tax. Legislation was recommended to permit the governing body of a city to levy a one-half cent supplemental tax within the city on retail sales subject to the state sales tax. The tax would be administered by the State Department of Revenue in conjunction with the state sales tax, and would be returned to the city imposing it.

The proposed plan also called for the reduction of the existing 3 per cent state tax to 2½ per cent so that the combined state and city sales taxes would be no higher than previously. This was the feature that hastened the journey of the report to the legislative ash can. It was contended that the state could not afford to give up what would amount to one-sixth of its sales tax revenue if the rate were reduced to 2½ per cent. Ironically, within two years a constitutional amendment (Article X, Section 23) was adopted which in effect

forces the state to hand over to local governments practically four-fifths of the sales tax receipts.

The 1945 legislature did not give municipalities either additional taxing power or a share of the sales tax. It did enact legislation which provided them with $11,800,000 additional in shared revenues the following year by revising the intangibles tax law and imposing a special tax on liquor for a two-year period.

Sales Tax Rebate

After defeat of their demand for a share of the sales tax from the legislature, some city officials organized a drive to secure it by constitutional amendment. Realizing the difficulty of obtaining sufficient votes, they drafted an amendment designed to win support from both urban and rural groups. Petitions were circulated in the summer of 1946 and sufficient signatures obtained to place the proposal on the ballot. By this time school groups were persuaded of its desirability as a means of securing more money for school districts. As a consequence of the widespread support from those interested primarily in helping the schools, the amendment was approved by a large majority at the November 1946 election. Two years later a proposal to repeal the sales tax diversion amendment was submitted to the people and was defeated by a majority of 81 per cent of the votes cast.

The sales tax amendment is in two parts. One requires the legislature to appropriate annually as a grant to school districts a sum equal to 44.77 per cent of total sales tax collections in the previous year.

The other part requires the quarterly return to local governmental units of "one cent of a state sales tax levy on each dollar of sales of tangible personal property on the present statutory base (not rate)." One half this sum must be remitted to school districts in proportion to the number of persons between the ages of five and nineteen years residing in each district (not the number of pupils attending public schools). The other half is returned to cities, incorporated villages and townships in proportion to population according to the latest federal census. County governments do not share in the sales tax rebate.

Because of wars, inflation and ballooning income payments, Michigan sales tax collections rose from $59,500,000 in fiscal 1940 to $97,600,000 in 1945 and $240,000,000 in 1951. Sales tax receipts returned to cities, villages and townships in 1951 represented a per capita distribution of $6.27.

Fiscal Consequences

Despite the enormous expansion in sales tax yield, state finances have been severely cramped since adoption of the diversion amendment. Operating deficits in the state general fund have occurred regularly for the past four years. The previous large balance has been exhausted and an accumulated deficit of $40,800,000 existed by June 30, 1951. The need for replacement revenues is obvious.

Public school districts are getting over two and a half times as much from the state as in 1945. In effect the constitution earmarks 61.5 per cent of sales tax revenue for them. The greater part goes to schools in

cities and villages, where 68 per cent of the people reside.

Of course, municipalities have been helped greatly but, despite their largess from the state, they found it necessary to levy 49 per cent more property tax in 1950 than in 1945. In contrast, property taxes for township purposes declined 32 per cent in the same period. The townships' portion of the sales tax, intangibles tax and liquor license revenue collected in fiscal 1951 was $16,300,000, a sum equal to $5.96 per dollar of township property taxes. On the other hand, the share of the cities and villages was the imposing total of $37,500,000, but this represented only 27 cents per dollar of property tax for municipal purposes.

A side outcome of the fiscal controversy was the belated discovery of a means of meeting the vexing problems of fifteen-mill cities. In 1948 the legislature authorized the governing bodies of these cities to levy for municipal expenditures a tax on property up to ten mills of the assessed valuation, and this may be raised to twenty mills by the voters. The statute requires that the city tax shall be in addition to, and not a part of, the fifteen mills, which are now reserved for allocation to school and county taxes as in all the other municipalities. As would be expected, the release from confinement brought an upsurge in municipal, school and county taxes. Between 1947 and 1950 total taxes on property in the eight counties where the former fifteen-mill cities are located shot up 62 per cent, while the increase for the other 75 counties was 34 per cent.

For years Michigan municipalities battled without success for better treatment in the disposition of revenue from the state gasoline tax and the weight tax paid for motor vehicle registration plates. In the 1930s all township roads were transferred to the counties and the financing of rural roads shifted from property taxes to almost complete support from the motor tax money distributed by the state. The cities, on the other hand, had to raise a large part of the money for streets since their portion of the gasoline and weight tax receipts usually was insufficient even for adequate maintenance.

Money for Streets

The state gave all the weight tax money and $6,750,000 a year from the gasoline tax to the counties and the latter were expected to apportion part of these funds to their municipalities. Because of the complicated provisions and priorities in the distribution laws, cities and villages sat at second table and waited for the leftovers. For example, use of the money by a county for payment of road debts had priority over distribution to municipalities. In some counties with a bountiful heritage of debt incurred for rural roads, cities and villages received little for their streets. In about a third of the counties the boards of supervisors followed the practice of taking half the motor vehicle funds which otherwise would go to municipalities and using the money on rural roads.

The Tax Study Committee report severely criticized the existing distribution of funds and recommended that 25 per cent of weight tax and

gasoline tax receipts be apportioned to cities and villages and distributed directly by the state.

After the war the highway situation continued to get worse. It was evident that additional money would have to be provided for both urban and rural roadways. The Michigan Good Roads Federation, in cooperation with the State Highway Department and the U. S. Public Roads Administration, undertook a comprehensive study of the highway problem. As a result, an excellent staff report, *Highway Needs in Michigan,* was published in 1948 upon which the federation's highway study committee based its legislative recommendations. The Michigan Municipal League was represented on the committee and participated actively in promoting the new highway financing program.

Efforts to enact the legislation necessary to secure the program were unsuccessful until the 1951 legislative session. There was a hectic battle for several months. The governor was fighting for adoption of a corporation net income tax as a solution of the general fund deficits. This the legislature refused to do. The governor insisted that the problem of adequate funds for the state budget as well as for highways should be met at the same time.

After months of pulling and hauling, bills increasing the gasoline tax from three to five cents per gallon were near enactment. It became apparent that the governor would veto such a bill and there probably would be insufficient votes to override it. Therefore, the rate was reduced to 4½ cents per gallon before passage.

Nevertheless, the governor promptly vetoed the measure. The first attempt to override failed by one vote in the House of Representatives. The following week, however, a second vote was taken which succeeded in overriding the veto. This was the critical item in the highway finance program since the other bills in the series would not become effective until its adoption. They became effective on June 1, 1951, when the gasoline tax and weight tax increases began.

In September 1951, the Michigan Congress for Industrial Organization submitted a petition requesting a referendum vote on the gasoline tax increase at the November 1952 general election. The Good Roads Federation challenged the validity of the signatures on the petition and a recheck of the entire list was ordered by the State Board of Canvassers. When it was found that by a narrow margin there were sufficient valid names on the petition, the State Supreme Court was called upon to enter the fiscal melodrama. It is contended that the gasoline tax measure is not legally open to a referendum vote.

New Distribution Basis

The 1951 highway legislation provides a rational allocation of funds based on highway needs. It requires that all the revenue from the weight and gasoline taxes shall be deposited in the motor vehicle highway fund. After deduction of refunds and amounts appropriated to the secretary of state to administer the taxes, the net revenue is divided so that 44 per cent goes to the State Highway

Department, 37 per cent to the 83 county road commissions and 19 per cent to the incorporated cities and villages.

The amount allocated to the State Highway Department is used for its expenses and improvement and maintenance of state trunk lines, including mileage within municipalities. Under the new law the state now assumes the entire cost of maintenance of state trunk lines within municipalities but the latter continue to pay part of the construction costs. The state is required to spend on trunk line construction inside incorporated places not less than 40 per cent of the total available for improving state trunk line highways and bridges.

What does this add up to? In fiscal 1950 cities and villages received $12,100,000 in gasoline and weight tax funds, which represented 14.7 per cent of the total net revenue collected from those taxes during the year. According to state budget division estimates, the gasoline and weight taxes at their higher rates are expected to produce $132,000,000 in the year ending June 30, 1952, as compared to $84,000,000 in fiscal 1950. After subtracting administrative expenses, there should be available for highway purposes about $130,000,000, of which the 19 per cent share of cities and villages would be $24,700,000, or double the amount they received in 1950.

But this is not all. When state expenditures on trunk lines are included, as well as the 19 per cent distributed to municipalities, probably 30 per cent or more of the total motor vehicle fund revenue will be used on streets in cities and villages. It is estimated that the State Highway Department will spend about $1,000,000 a year more as a result of assuming the entire maintenance of state trunk line mileage in municipalities.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . Edited by H. M. Olmsted

School Board Status Debated in New York

Election, Fiscal Freedom Advocated and Opposed

AS A special part of the over-all study of the government of the City of New York, under the auspices of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, a report on the city's school system to the committee was issued in four installments in December. Prepared after a thirteen-month survey by Dr. George D. Strayer and Louis E. Yavner,[1] it includes among its chief recommendations the proposals that the city's board of education be elected, instead of appointed by the mayor, and that it be fiscally independent of the city's general government. Both proposals are opposed by the committee's financial experts —Professors Robert M. Haig and Carl S. Shoup of Columbia University—the Citizens Union and other authorities and organizations.

On January 16, at a conference of some 57 organizations—civic, professional, etc.—called by the mayor's committee, it was announced that a majority of them opposed fiscal independence of the educational system and election of the school board.

Education in New York is not merely a municipal duty but is also a state function, over which the Department of Education and the Board of Regents[2] have a large degree of supervision. The city itself is, of course, also subordinate to the state, and its functions in general are subject to state authority.

The survey report claims that the present appointive board is unable to meet the many responsibilities imposed upon it by state law "because of the controls exercised over it by other city officials and agencies." It states that the city's governing body —the board of estimate—and the budget director now decide such questions as what positions are established, how many teachers are employed, how much is spent for books and other educational supplies, etc., and the budget director also exercises detailed control over expenditures after the school budget is approved. It also indicates that political considerations play an undue part in personnel and policy matters. For these reasons the report urges fiscal independence and an elected board.

Whereas the nine members of the present board are appointed by the mayor, on a basis of representation for the city's five boroughs, for terms of seven years, the report proposes their election at large for terms of twelve years. Nominations would be made by a committee of representatives from sixteen private organizations (a suggested list includes civic and labor groups, universities, etc.); other nominations could also be made by petition.

[1]Dr. Strayer is emeritus professor of Teachers College, Columbia University, and has conducted many school surveys. Mr. Yavner was commissioner of investigation under Mayor LaGuardia of New York and is now an assistant and deputy of Rudolph Halley, newly elected president of the city council. The mayor's committee is headed by Lazarus Joseph, city comptroller, and its surveys are under the general direction of Dr. Luther Gulick.

[2]See "Changes Proposed in New York State Educational Organization," page 98, this issue.

As to so-called fiscal independence, a few suggestions as to revenue sources, tax limits, etc., are given but a specific plan was left to the municipal finance study of the mayor's committee. The school budget, including debt service and pensions, is now nearly $300,000,000, of which about $88,000,000 comes from state aid. The report suggested that the city's present 10 per cent debt limit be increased to 12 per cent, with 3 per cent allocated to the school building program. The board would make its own capital budget, with the city planning commission merely reviewing proposals for sites. The report does not indicate whether the board or the city would issue school bonds.

Opponents of these proposals point out that election of the board, even if it were nominated chiefly by so-called civic organizations, could not be expected to eliminate "political" influences, if not actually stimulating them; that fiscal independence, necessarily accompanied by tax limits or other restrictions, can become a straitjacket; that education should be looked at in relation to other public needs; that comprehensive treatment of such needs by the general city government is preferable to further division of responsibility; and that improvements can be effected in regard to appointment of board members and greater freedom of internal management without recourse to desperate and dubious remedies.

The report deals in detail with other aspects of school organization and administration, although not with the curriculum or other strictly educational matters. Many recommendations for better coordination and efficiency are made.

A major recommendation, made previously and reiterated, is creation of a deputy superintendent to administer the educational program, an administrator of housing having charge of buildings, and an administrator of business affairs. Under the deputy superintendent the eight associate superintendents, now supervising divisions such as elementary schools, junior high schools, academic high schools, etc., would each deal with a specific function— instruction, curriculum, organization, research, personnel, child welfare, special services and public information.

The authors of the report not only recommend autonomy for the city school system as a whole but even suggest a decentralized system of a number of communities each with an elected board of education operating a separate school system, under a city-wide organization for supply, maintenance and research services only; each board would be responsible to the State Education Department for the maintenance of minimum standards.

Council-manager Plan Developments

Peoria, Illinois, (1950 population, 111,856) adopted the council-manager plan on January 22 by a vote of 15,872 to 7,095. The city is the third to adopt the plan under Illinois' new manager enabling act.

On November 20, 1951, voters of **Aransas Pass, Texas,** (5,396) adopted a council-manager charter.

Old Orchard Beach and **South Berwick, Maine,** have recently held referendum elections on retaining the town manager plan; in both the plan was emphatically approved. In Old Orchard Beach the election on December 27 resulted in a vote of 721 to 540 for the manager plan. In South Berwick, where the election was held on January 5 in a heavy snow storm, the vote was 799 to 417. The Inde-

pendent Voters' Association campaigned for the plan and assailed the opposition as led by politicians who had been voted out of office in 1948, when the manager plan was adopted.

The **Massachusetts** legislature has authorized a recess study to look into ways of facilitating adoption of town manager government, according to the Council of State Governments.

In **Hoboken, New Jersey,** the charter commission, elected November 6, 1951, to study alternative forms of city government and to make recommendations within nine months, is proceeding under difficulties. The city commission has reduced the commission's expense estimate of $12,000 for stenographer-typist, stationery, telephone, postage and printing educational literature and 25,000 copies of its report, to $10,000, with only $2,500 appropriated thus far. The chamber of commerce has announced its opposition to the existing commission form of government and the League of Women Voters is urging the council-manager plan.

Takoma Park, Maryland, will hold a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan on March 25, 1952.

Washington, North Carolina, is showing interest in the council-manager plan. It was explained at a public meeting at the courthouse by Professor E. J. Woodhouse of the University of North Carolina.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Sylvania, Georgia,** favors a council-manager charter for that city.

The **Ashtabula, Ohio,** Chamber of Commerce is planning to place the question of readopting council-manager government on the ballot in November 1952.

The **Elgin, Illinois,** Association of Commerce is sponsoring an educational program to furnish Elgin citizens and civic groups with information about the council-manager plan.

The **Taylorville, Illinois,** Association of Commerce is working for adoption of the manager plan in that city.

The **Mississippi** Economic Council has prepared legislation to enable any city or town in the state to adopt council-manager government, to be presented to the 1952 legislature for action.

Glenwood, Minnesota, has appointed an advisory board to study the feasibility of the council-manager plan for the city.

Under recently adopted home rule legislation in **Colorado, Montrose** and **Monte Vista** voted to eliminate existing charter limits to the manager's salary and to leave the salary question to the city council.

In **Hamilton, Ontario,** the city government has appointed a committee of five to inquire into the manager plan.

AMA Augments Its Municipal Program

The American Municipal Association at its annual congress in Washington, December 9-12, adopted a series of resolutions supplementing and enlarging its previously announced national municipal policy. They include the following propositions:

Inflation impairs local governmental functions and Congress should legislate to halt further inflation.

Federal authorities should assign an adequate portion of national production to internal development and necessary local improvements.

Existing public retirement systems should be integrated with the national social security system.

Efforts to gain adequate federal payments in lieu of local taxes should continue.

Congress should provide adequate funds to cities for civil defense; cities should go forward with defense programs and mutual defense plans.

An AMA interim committee is to study industrial dispersal plans and resultant municipal problems.

Tax sources for federal, state and local governments should be established with due regard to local government needs.

Adequate pay, requirements and training should be provided by cities to obtain high grade employees.

A special conference on mass transportation should be held.

Loss of personal property taxes on property used in the manufacture of defense materials should be prevented.

Federal agencies should exercise no proprietary rights to lands or natural resources underlying navigable waters within state boundaries.

The AMA pledges its cooperation with the National Board of Fire Underwriters and state and local officials for revision of fire insurance rating and grading schedules.

Congress should provide for resumption of publication of the census of governments.

Federal and state governments should cooperate with cities in the collection of local taxes.

Arbitrary constitutional and statutory restrictions on home rule should be removed.

A detailed statement of highway policy and action, in relation to federal, state and local governments, was set forth, including among many items a plea for federal and state governments to give cities more equitable distribution and benefits from highway user taxes and a statement that cities must encourage off-street parking facilities.

Adequate federal aid should be provided to match municipal airport programs.

Radio and television stations should be required by the Federal Communications Commission to provide adequate time at reasonable rates for all important political campaigns and public issues.

Representatives from 35 states attended the congress and participated in the adoption of resolutions and policy statements. Mayor A. E. Cobo of Detroit is the new president.

Arizona League Holds 24th Convention

The 24th annual convention of the Arizona Municipal League was held in Prescott November 26-27, with 147 persons in attendance. Leading topics considered were home rule, civil defense and attendant liability problems, off-street parking facilities and annexations. A nine-point legislative program was adopted concerning annexation, claims against municipalities, sanitary and special improvement districts, budgeting, etc. Mayor Arthur Turner of Miami was elected president.

Nine police chiefs attending the convention formed the Association of Chiefs of Police of Arizona, a further meeting of which was held in December.

Municipal Report Contest in New Hampshire

The Bureau of Government Research, University of New Hampshire, under the direction of Professor George Deming, conducts an annual municipal report contest, with reports from all cities and towns in that state grouped in population classes, from I (500 and under) to V (over 10,000). The intermediate population limits are 1,000 and 2,500. In the 1951 contest the winners in each class, from smallest to largest, were Mason, Hampstead, London, Wolfeboro and Dover. In Class V Keene was second to

Dover; both were then council-manager cities. The reports are judged on the basis of how well they tell the story of the town's or city's work, how attractively the story is presented and how effectively they outline municipal plans for the future.

Kansas City, Philadelphia Receive La Guardia Awards

The first La Guardia awards for outstanding achievement in municipal affairs were bestowed December 15 on City Manager L. P. Cookingham of Kansas City, Missouri, and on the Greater Philadelphia Movement, represented by its three co-chairmen, C. Jared Ingersoll, William F. Kurtz and Robert T. McCracken. The awards were established in 1951 by the La Guardia Memorial Association, formed in 1947 shortly after the death of former Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York City. They are to be made annually in his honor.

These awards were made after a nation-wide survey conducted by the Graduate Division of Public Service of New York University, with the aid of material furnished by the National Municipal League, the Governmental Research Association and the American Municipal Association. They were given at a luncheon in New York attended by some 350 persons.

Movies, Radio, TV Used by Cities, States, Nation

A growing number of cities are filming their reports to citizens on municipal activity, the International City Managers' Association reports. Among recent cities to do so are Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Eugene, Oregon; both report waiting lists of civic groups desiring to see the films.

Philadelphia has produced two fifteen-minute sound-and-color films. They are a project of the "Know Your City" office of the city's Commercial Museum, which operates under authority of the city council. *Philadelphia, City of Two Million,* portrays city services, while *Philadelphia On the March* spotlights the city's newest projects in housing, flood control and civic improvements.

Eugene has produced a color film, *A Budget in Action,* which cost only $900, less than the cost of the usual annual report. It runs 45 minutes and has an accompanying tape-recorded commentary enhanced by a light musical background. It covers the processes of council authorization, budget procedure and departmental operations, and ends with capital outlay programs.

Last year, Burbank, California, produced a sound color film, *The Story of a City,* with the help of a professional producer. Another California city, San Mateo, produced for about $800 a home-made film, *Your City In Action,* a black-and-white sound record of city activities. Other cities have produced travelogues and films on one or another aspect of city life.

Radio has been widely used for telling a city's story to its citizens and for other purposes of governmental information. A recent addition to cities using radio is Lubbock, Texas, which gave a 25-minute program every Tuesday evening for twelve weeks. It covered the functions of the city government and its past, present and expected future accomplishments, and was prepared and presented by city employees. The program was sponsored by the Business and Professional Women's Club.

Television has recently been used jointly by the California State Employment Service and the U. S. Civil Service Commission to stimulate recruiting for state and federal positions by

means of a half-hour weekly program called "Help Wanted." When utilized in behalf of the San Francisco Naval Shipyard, job inquiries are reported to have increased from two to four times.

Massachusetts Legislature Permits More Home Rule

Legislation adopted last year in Massachusetts transfers additional powers from the state to municipalities as to use of local revenue surpluses, hours and related working conditions of local employees, the use of municipally-owned land and the appropriating and contracting powers of cities and towns.

The Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations, which sponsored a broader bill, says in its publication *Taxtalk,* "The new home rule law, despite its limited coverage, stands as a turning point in state-local relations in Massachusetts. It is the first legislation in modern times devoted to the single purpose of restoring and strengthening the responsibilities of local government."

Changes Proposed in N. Y. State Educational Organization

The Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities, created in 1946 by act of the legislature, has suggested important proposals for altering the governing body of New York State's educational system.[1] They have been submitted for consideration of the 1952 legislature.

The Board of Regents, governing body of the state school system, with its appointive commissioner of education, dates from 1904. It is made up of thirteen regents, elected three at large and ten from districts by a joint vote of both houses of the legislature for thirteen-year terms, in rotation. At present the governor is merely a spectator as to this department of the state government. Turnover is slow and reelections are common until vacancies result from the 70-year age limit.

The report proposes increasing the regents-at-large to five instead of three, shortening terms to ten years and preventing reelection. Not more than two-thirds of the board could be from one political party (now twelve out of thirteen are Republicans). The five regents at large would be appointed by the governor with Senate consent, the others continuing to be appointed by the legislature as at present.

The proposals include strengthening the commissioner's staff and giving him control of the deputy commissioner who is now chosen by the regents, reducing the list of appointive officers requiring regents' approval and making all appointees removable at the pleasure of the commissioner. The regents are urged to divest themselves of detail and to reduce the number of their committees.

R. S. C.

Idaho Makes Changes in Election Laws

The 1951 Idaho legislature made various changes in election laws. In primary elections perforated ballots will be used, the voter to tear off the ballot for the party of his choice and discard the others before marking selections of candidates. In general elections, party circles are to be eliminated from the ballots; each candidate will be voted for individually.

[1]Report of the Temporary State Commission on Coordination of State Activities. Legislative Document No. 77. Albany 1951.

State Government Council Proposes Legislative Program

New legislative proposals have been put forward by the drafting committee of the Council of State Governments for consideration by the fourteen state legislatures[1] meeting in 1952.

The committee's report, *Suggested State Legislation,* sets forth several newly approved measures, together with proposals currently under study and recommended uniform acts promulgated in recent years by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.

New measures include two relating to civil defense: (1) to clarify the authority of peace officers to arrest and detain in enforcing civil defense laws and (2) to provide for exemption of property owners who permit their buildings to be used as shelters from legal liability as to persons using such shelters.

A leading proposal under study is a draft of suggested state legislation designed to remedy present deficiencies in the control of organized crime.

The following proposed uniform laws are set forth: divorce recognition, enforcement of foreign judgments, acknowledgments, ancillary administration of estates, photographic copies of business and public records, marriage license applications, prenatal blood tests, probate of foreign wills, narcotic drugs and the model small estates act. A descriptive statement of the background and purposes of the uniform commercial code, developed as a result of ten years of research, is also included.

[1]Arizona, California, Colorado, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia.

Efficiency Steps Urged on Congress

In its fifth annual letter to Congress last month the National Committee for Strengthening Congress, headed by Robert Heller of Cleveland, made nine specific recommendations for greater efficiency and better procedure:

1. Electric voting in the House of Representatives, to save 10 per cent of its time,
2. A relevancy rule for the Senate to require debate to pertain to pending business,
3. A Senate rule for majority cloture,
4. No private legislation by Congress—411 private bills were passed in the last session as against 255 public bills,
5. A raise in pay for congressmen,
6. Steps to curb absenteeism,
7. Home rule for the District of Columbia,
8. An omnibus money bill,
9. A House rule making a majority vote sufficient to bring any bill to the floor for action.

Public Service Fellowships at Harvard University

The Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University again announces the offering of limited numbers of fellowships for advanced public service training for the academic year 1952-1953. The Littauer fellowships are for persons with experience in public service who show special academic abilities and personal promise. The Administration Fellowships are for recent college graduates with special qualifications indicated for entering the public service. Information may be had from the secretary, 118 Littauer Center, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

Manager Suggested for Prince George's County

Survey Recommends Action to Get Home Rule Charter

HOME RULE and a county manager form of government are among the more important innovations recommended for Prince George's County, Maryland, in a survey conducted by Public Administration Service.[1] This county, adjoining the District of Columbia, is heavily urbanized throughout a large part of its territory. It has experienced phenomenal growth, its population increase between 1940 and 1950 amounting to 116 per cent. The survey was prepared at the request of the county commissioners to determine how governmental problems could be met most effectively.

The report urges that action be taken to secure a home rule charter as "one of the most important steps in securing efficient and democratic local self-government for the county." According to article 11A of the Maryland constitution, the voters of any county may petition the county commissioners for an election to choose a charter board which in turn prepares a home rule charter to be submitted for popular approval in a later referendum.

Under home rule, Prince George's County could frame and adopt its form of government. The county council would be authorized to enact local laws on all subjects included in a grant of express powers given by law to home rule counties. The county would be freed to a large extent of minute legislative supervision through local legislation.

In its recommendations for greater local autonomy, the report advocates a reduction of state administrative supervision over county functions. It recommends abolition of the practice whereby many local officials are appointed by the governor. It also suggests abandonment of state administrative supervision over details of functions financed and conducted jointly by the county and state and recommends substitution of broad state controls and technical assistance.

The report stresses the fact that authority and responsibility for county operations are at present diffused among several officers, departments and boards. As a major step to fixing responsibility for county administration, it recommends installation of the county manager plan. Under such a system, administration and management would be the responsibility of a trained manager, appointed by the county council. The legislative body would be relieved of many routine administrative tasks and could devote its time to policy decisions, which will take on added importance if a home rule charter is adopted. The county manager would be responsible for operation of all county services.

The report also suggests further means of fixing authority and responsibility for county administration. It recommends the consolidation of many functions and departments to reduce them to a manageable number. It suggests that boards and commissions be used for advisory but not for administrative purposes as at present. Also, the elective positions of sheriff, sur-

[1] *Local Government in Prince George's County, Maryland.* Chicago, 1951. 85 pages.

veyor and treasurer would be made appointive or abolished.

The report also recommends an extension of municipal functions performed by the county, finding that existing municipalities are generally too small to perform many of them. It declares that the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, a bi-county agency operating in parts of Prince George's and neighboring Montgomery Counties, should be abolished and its planning and zoning functions transferred to the counties. An administrative taxing unit in the urban section of the county is suggested as a means of financing municipal services for that area.

The report recommends retention of the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission, a bi-county agency providing sanitary services in the area, but suggests that the county be represented on the state-appointed commission.

Pennsylvania Governor Stymies City-county Legislation

Governor John S. Fine of Pennsylvania on January 22 vetoed enabling legislation to put the Philadelphia city-county consolidation amendment, adopted in November,[1] into effect. The bill, introduced by Senator A. Evans Kephart of Philadelphia, represented a compromise between the two major parties. It would have set up a ten-member commission—five appointed by the governor and five by the mayor of Philadelphia — to draft legislation merging county offices into the city government for submission to Philadelphia voters. The governor gave questionable constitutionality as his reason for the veto.

Since no further action can be taken by the legislature until its 1953 session, Mayor Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and Democratic members of the city council have set in motion machinery for creation by the council of a bipartisan commission to draft consolidation bills for submission to the voters next fall. The city solicitor has assured the group that such a plan is legal.

[1]See the REVIEW, December 1951, page 591.

Two Counties Consider Manager Plan

Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, may shortly receive the same kind of careful scrutiny leading to reform as was experienced recently by the city of Phoenix. The Citizens Bureau of Investigation is raising questions regarding the present administrative structure under which the three supervisors each has jurisdiction over one of the districts into which the county is divided. It is studying the county manager plan as a possible alternative.

In San Bernardino County, California, an informal committee has been appointed to review the county's charter and make recommendations for its improvement. The group is studying all aspects of the county manager and the county administrative officer plans. Under the present charter, adopted in 1912, the chairman of the board of supervisors acts as the county's full-time executive officer.

Fairfax County Studies Change to Executive Plan

In anticipation of its change from a board to a county executive form of government on January 1, 1952,[1] Fair-

[1]The county executive is one of several optional forms of government available to counties by popular vote under Virginia law. It is similar to the state's optional county manager law except that the county executive, appointed by the board of supervisors, does not have

fax County, Virginia, decided to secure expert aid to guide it during the transition period. As a result, a 220-page report was prepared by the University of Virginia's Bureau of Public Administration.[2]

The study was not simply a description of the new form of government which the voters of the county adopted, but rather it was designed to point out and explore "the problems related to the transition to the county executive form of government." It attempted to anticipate the questions and problems occasioned by the extensive changes in governmental form, thus making it possible to plan for these matters before they arose.

The report set forth the various legal problems caused by the change; for example, the status of the police department between the time the old one was dissolved and the new one organized. It considered certain conflicts between general state laws applying to all counties and the law authorizing the county executive form, recommending that competent legal opinions be secured on numerous problems.

The survey also considered major problems of organization and administration that would arise during the transition. In the field of administration, the report declared the primary problem to be the relative roles of the county legislative body and the county executive, and the relationship between the two. It analyzed the problems that arise in setting up new departments, the allocation of functions among them, and numerous other questions of management that inevitably appear under any new system.

powers of appointment but may only recommend appointments to the board.

[2] *Guide to County Executive Form of Government, Fairfax County, Virginia.* Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, 1951.

Intergovernmental Cooperation Between County and City

Napa County, California, has joined with the three cities of Napa, St. Helena and Calistoga in authorizing employment of a planning consultant to develop a zoning plan and land use regulations, especially for the unincorporated areas adjacent to the incorporated cities. The Napa city council and the Napa County board of supervisors also have accepted a joint liability insurance program recommended by the County Insurance Agents Association.

Columbia County, New York, is assisting the town highway superintendents to prepare for receipts under a new state-aid roads program.

Jim Wells County, Texas, and the city of Alice have reached an agreement under which the county will resurface the city streets.

Functions of the planning departments of the city and county of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, have been established on a coordinated, community-wide basis. Community planning problems, such as zoning, highways, street-widenings, expressways, parks and recreation and playgrounds, are solved jointly by the city, represented by its public land commission, and the county, represented by its park board. A proposal for inclusion of the suburbs in the program is being given further consideration.

School Consolidation in Minnesota and Wisconsin

Minnesota, which in 1947 had the second greatest number of school districts in the United States, has reduced them from 7,606 in that year to 6,479

at present. During this four-year period, consolidations have taken place in 67 of the state's 87 counties.

A report from Wisconsin reveals that the number of school districts in that state was reduced from 6,391 to 5,792 in the same period. The consolidations resulted from the payment of higher state aid to improved districts and from county committees which were required by law to file master plans of school systems by July 1, 1951.

Wayne County to Abolish Useless Agencies

A committee of the Wayne County, Michigan, Board of Supervisors has recommended abolition of county coroners and the county drain commission. It is suggested that the duties of coroners, who now spend $200,000 per year, be assumed by medical examiners who already are performing a large part of the coroners' functions. The duties of the drain commission would be assumed by the road commission.

The committee recommended that the state legislature enact permissive statutes under which the voters of Wayne County could indicate their wishes by popular referendum.

County Bids in All Tax-delinquent Real Estate

Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, has adopted an unusual method for disposing of its tax-delinquent land. Once a year the county, in accordance with law, publishes a delinquent tax list and offers for sale at auction all property on which taxes have not been paid. However, no one except the county itself is permitted to bid on the property because county officials have found that at open auctions the county usually found itself owner of only the poorest lots from among those offered.

Now, since the county secures the desirable as well as the less desirable real estate, all lands thus acquired can be offered to a better market by the county real estate department. All tax-foreclosed real estate is thus put back more quickly on the county tax rolls. The fiction of the auction device is merely a matter of form to comply with Wisconsin law.

Tennessee Counties and Cities Join on Road Program

The 1951 convention of the Tennessee County Highway Officials Association endorsed the cooperation of counties and cities on a legislative program calling for state aid for roads and streets. It approved unanimously a committee report which stated in part:

"It is to the best interest of the Tennessee County Highway Association, the Tennessee Judges Association and the Tennessee Municipal League to develop cooperatively a joint program for submission to the 1953 legislature providing for a permanent program of state-financed construction on county roads and state financing of local city streets."

Continuing committees of the three associations will meet to develop specific measures for submission to the full membership of the associations, but it already has been agreed that the counties should have definite earmarked state revenues for a permanent construction program on rural roads and that the selection and location of county road projects should be reserved to local officials.

Texas County Officers Revive Short Course

The Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association in its recent convention voted to resume its short course at Texas A. & M. College. Such a course was held several years prior to World War II but was discontinued because of the war.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Independents Win Again in Worcester

Plan E Regime to Continue, Shakeup in School Committee

WORCESTER'S second P. R. election on November 6 appeared to assure a continuance of nonpartisan progress in New England's third city. Though the vote was smaller than at the first election under the council-manager charter two years ago, the verdict of the voters was even more emphatic.

The Citizens Plan E Association, nonpartisan civic organization which spearheaded the drive for the new charter, endorsed nine council candidates, as it did in 1949. This time its score was higher. Seven of those it endorsed were elected to the council, compared to five in 1949. The only two candidates who won without the organization's endorsement were councillors with long experience in politics. One has served in the council fourteen years, the other four years.

The success of the Citizens Plan E Association in the election does not mean the entrenchment of a nonpartisan political machine. The Association was unable to hold together as a voting bloc its five endorsees in the 1950-1951 council. The organization generally kept hands off city hall affairs, taking an emphatic stand only on the choice of a city manager. Twice it called for election of a professionally-trained, experienced manager. Twice the council unanimously chose local men.

The first manager was Everett F. Merrill, industrialist. He served fifteen months, then resigned, as he had indicated he would after helping the new regime to get started. The council chose Francis J. McGrath, former elementary school principal and assistant to Merrill while the latter was manager, to succeed him.

The 1952-1953 council has indicated it will keep Mr. McGrath on the job. His appointment runs for an indefinite term.

Most notable feature of the council election was the size of the vote piled up by Andrew B. Holmstrom, industrialist. He was first choice on 13,290 ballots in 1949. He topped that this time with 14,752 first-choice votes, despite the 20 per cent drop in ballots cast. Mr. Holmstrom, chosen by his colleagues in 1949 and again this time as mayor, received a No. 1 vote from nearly one out of every four voters who went to the polls. George H. Hallett, Jr., associate secretary of the National Municipal League and director of the ballot count again as in 1949, said he could not recall any other P. R. election in which one candidate amassed such an overwhelming margin of votes.

In other respects the election brought no sensations and few surprises. All nine councillors sought reelection. Seven of them made it. The other two were replaced by the last two candidates counted out in 1949. One of the candidates who went down to defeat had served in the city council twelve years. He was next to the last man counted out. The other councillor who failed to win reelection was completing his first two-year term.

Mr. Holmstrom, by virtue of his election by the councillors as mayor,

automatically becomes chairman and seventh voting member of the school committee. The other six members were chosen again on a separate P. R. ballot.

The 1950-1951 committee received far more public criticism than the council, largely because of wrangles over teaching appointments. The criticism was turned into votes for other candidates on election day. As a result, two of the five committee members who sought reelection were defeated. The sixth ran for the council and was the last man counted out. One of the three school committee members reelected had her number of first-choice votes cut from 11,987 in 1949 to 6,899 in the latest election.

Fewer Votes Cast

The results of the nonpartisan election were generally satisfactory to good government supporters. But the turnout of voters was not. About 61,000 went to the polls. About 102,000 were registered to vote. The turnout was 20 per cent below the 76,390 who cast their ballots in the city's first P. R. election in 1949. It was below the normal turnout in the old days of rough-and-tumble election campaigns along party lines.

Various explanations have been offered for the drop in voter interest. One suggestion is that voters go to the polls in droves when they want a change in administration. There was general satisfaction with the work of the nine-member city council during Worcester's first two years under the new charter.

A certain number of voters who went to the polls in 1949 "to see what P. R. is all about" apparently didn't come back for a second helping this time.

The number of candidates for the city council dropped from 152 in 1949 to 48 last November. That certainly contributed to the lessening of interest. The latest campaign was tamer, with attention centered on the twelve or fifteen candidates who obviously were strongest.

The election count went smoothly, with high praise on all sides for the job Dr. Hallett did in directing the complex activities. Nearly all the counting force, including all of those in top positions, had had the benefit of experience two years before. The council count was finished by midday the Saturday after the election, after which the force recessed until Monday afternoon. The school committee count and all the rest of the proceedings were then completed by supper time the next day.

For the first time in history, Worcester voters had three ballots with which to grapple. There was a white one for the city council, a pink one for the school committee and a blue one for a referendum.

The referendum, to legalize the central purchasing department created in 1950, required a "yes" or "no" answer. It was approved overwhelmingly. Voters did well in keeping their three ballots and two kinds of voting—P. R. and plurality—straight.

The number of invalid ballots in the council contest jumped from 1,584 in 1949 to 2,719 this time. But Dr. Hallett called it nothing to be alarmed about. An increase in the second P. R. election is usual, he reported.

In 1949, there was an intensive campaign by the press, radio and civic organizations to educate the voters in how to mark their P. R. ballots, putting numbers beside candidates' names to indicate their choices. In the latest campaign, there was almost no educational work. That, along with the extra ballot for the referendum, contributed to the increase in improperly marked ballots.

An analysis of all the ballots, under Dr. Hallett's direction, showed only 6,213 council ballots failed to count for one of the winning candidates. And these ballots included 3,599 marked for one of the winners, but not needed to elect him.

The analysis pointed up the importance of making many choices on a P. R. ballot. Two 36th-choice votes counted toward the election of one councillor. Most of the ballots, however, counted for early choices.

The smaller turnout of voters and the increase in the number of invalid ballots are grist for the mill of local P. R. foes, an apparently small but definitely vocal group. They are already talking of an attempt to repeal P. R. voting in 1953.

One of the two council winners not endorsed by the Citizens Plan E Association made opposition to P. R. a plank in his campaign platform. He finished second to Mayor Holmstrom in first-choice votes, with 5,008 of them.

General reaction to the election results seems to be that Worcester will continue the progress shown during the past two years. During that period, a paid planning staff and a central purchasing department have been set up.

Politics has been squeezed out of welfare and public works operations, with sizeable savings. A long-range capital improvement program has been established and is being followed.

Much has been done, but there is always room for improvement. Good government supporters in the city government are concentrating on those improvements now. They realize council-manager government in Worcester will stand or fall on what is accomplished in the next few years.

ROBERT C. ACHORN

Worcester Telegram

P. R. League Holds Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League was held as one of four concurrent sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, at the Netherland Plaza Hotel, Cincinnati, November 27. Some 25 members and friends were in attendance as well as a substantial number of Cincinnati school pupils—both elementary and high school. Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, president of the League, presided.

Featured was a demonstration by the pupils of Cincinnati's Garfield Elementary School, boys and girls of ten to thirteen, who conducted an election of a school council by the Hare system. The pupils were led by their principal, C. S. Miller.

Speakers discussed P. R. in Cincinnati and Hamilton, Ohio, and in Medford, Worcester and other Massachusetts cities where it is in use.

Mrs. Dorothy Nichols Dolbey, a candidate on the Cincinnati City Charter Committee's ticket, discussed the use of P. R. in her city. Excerpts from her remarks appear below.

City Clerk George P. Hassett of Medford reported on the November 1951 P. R. elections of the city council and school committee in his city, declaring that the system had worked well, with the count proceeding in good order and representative bodies elected.

John Benninghofen, a member of the city council of Hamilton, Ohio, reelected at the November 1951 election, reported on his reactions to the use of P. R. in that city, where it has been in effect since 1927. He discussed certain problems which had arisen in connection with gambling activities but agreed that under P. R. it had been possible for the citizens

to take effective action on a non-partisan basis once they became sufficiently aware of the situation.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the P. R .League, who had conducted the count of P. R. ballots for school board and council in Worcester, Massachusetts, made a report on that election. A story on the Worcester experience appears elsewhere in this department.

The use of P. R. in student elections was discussed by George Howatt, an instructor in political science at Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Mr. Howatt told of his experiences in several colleges where he explained the system and aided in its adoption. He pointed out the educational advantages of such use of P. R.:

"In most college or university elections there are two or three competing groups—dormitory, fraternity or commuting students—or some variation of these groups. Plurality voting methods usually result in over-representation or under-representation, or monopoly by one group and exclusion of another. The consequent strife and bitterness is almost automatically eliminated by the use of the Hare system."

The following trustees, placed in nomination by Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, were reelected to serve for 1952: Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati; Richard S Childs of New York, chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League; Paul H. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois; C. G. Hoag of Haverford, Pennsylvania, honorary secretary of the P. R. League; Andrew B. Holmstrom, mayor of Worcester, Massachusetts; J. Henry Scattergood of Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White of Philadelphia, vice-president of the P. R. League.

The P. R. League, merged since 1932 with the National Municipal League, still retains its corporate existence.

E. S. P.

'P. R. Tried and Tested for Cincinnati'

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is made up of excerpts from the talk of MRS. DOROTHY NICHOLS DOLBEY at the P. R. League's annual meeting in November, as reported by the Cincinnati *Post* of November 28. Mrs. Dolbey, active in civic and religious work in her city, was a candidate for the Cincinnati city council on the 1951 ticket of the City Charter Committee. Though her candidacy was not successful, Mrs. Dolbey remained in the running until almost the end of the count.

Democracy will not endure unless it is a good democracy. If it grows cynical and corrupt it will perish. It will perish as easily from enemies from within as it can from enemies from without.

I believe that the P. R. method of election is the fairest, most democratic system of voting Cincinnati has ever had.

It enables Cincinnatians to vote with a certain knowledge that their ballots count and count for some candidate who needs those ballots to be elected. For 26 years it has given us councils in which there have been both majority control and minority representation.

A recent news article intended as a criticism of P. R., I am sure, states that 70 per cent of the votes cast in the November 6 election counted to elect a candidate marked No. 1. That, to me, is a tribute of the highest order though not meant to be such.

Other voting systems, even in the landslide elections of our national history, have never had that high a

percentage of votes cast to elect a candidate or candidates. Furthermore, the percentages of national history are for one candidate or one ticket. The 70 per cent in Cincinnati's recent election was for candidates on both tickets, thus insuring majority control and strong minority representation.

P. R. is also the only voting system which has brought about the genuine two-party system. Even the job-holding politician who opposes P. R. recognizes that fact.

The professional politician and his agents are forever telling us of terrible things that may happen under P. R. I suppose many persons have wondered and worried that radicals may be elected to office, religious and racial blocs may split us apart, etc. But Cincinnati has used P. R. for 26 years and none of these troubles has occurred.

Instead, Cincinnati has kept its city government operating on a business, non-patronage basis. The politicians haven't been able to give city jobs to friends, they haven't been able to give city contracts to favorite bidders. Could that be the reason that the professional politician has forced the citizens of Cincinnati to vote on the question of repeal of P. R. in the past?

Perhaps Superman hasn't been elected to council under P. R., but a very high percentage of councilmen have been able, respectable citizens, leaders in business, professions and civic affairs. In fact, a writer for one paper which has always opposed P. R. admitted not so long ago that members of the Cincinnati city council would stand up by their ability in most legislative bodies in this country.

P. R. has been tried and tested for 26 years. By that test Cincinnati voters have won justice, decency and good government.

Switzerland Chooses Lower House by List System

The three largest parties obtained almost equal representation in the National Council (lower house of the federal parliament) in the Swiss elections of October 28. Each of the 22 cantons elects to the National Council a delegation of a size proportional to population. The election in each canton utilizes a party list type of proportional representation, with provision for the voters to express preferences for individual candidates as well as to make a selection between party lists of candidates.

Only 21 changes in the party occupancy of the 196 seats of the National Council were produced by the recent elections. As compared with the previous council, elected in 1947, the Liberals lost three seats and gained two, to remain the largest party with 51 seats. The Social Democrats, the next largest party, gained three seats and lost two, obtaining 49. The Catholic Conservatives made the greatest gain, adding four seats and losing none, to reach a total of 48. This, together with that party's hold of 18 out of 44 places in the Council of States, which consists of two members from each canton, some of them chosen in the recent election, makes the Catholic Conservative party the most influential group in the parliament.

Among the minor parties, the Farmers and Artisans group gained two to hold 23 seats, the National Front gained two and lost its leader's seat for a total of ten, the Liberal Conservatives and the Communists (officially the Workers party) each lost two seats to hold five. The Democrats obtained four seats and one unaffiliated candidate was elected.

Taxation and Finance • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Credit Unit Vetoes Utility Purchase

Bond Issue Turned Down by Restraint Committee

APPLICATION by seven public utility districts in the state of Washington for clearance on a proposed bond issue, to be used in part to purchase the facilities of a privately owned electric system, was refused approval early in January by the Western Investment Banking Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee. This is one of the numerous regional units created to carry out the Voluntary Credit Restraint Program promulgated last year by Director of Defense Mobilization Charles E. Wilson pursuant to the 1950 defense production act.

The action threatens to disrupt proceedings in progress for nearly a decade looking toward public acquisition of the last large private electric system in western Washington, promises to further complicate an already involved situation respecting the disposition of another utility system in the eastern part of the state, and throws into sharp focus the clash between the voluntary program and local government home rule.

The bonds for which clearance was refused were, roundly, $115,000,000 of electric revenue bonds sought to be issued by public utility districts in Chelan, Jefferson, Kitsap, Skagit, Snohomish, Thurston and Whatcomb Counties, Washington. About $96,800,000 of the bonds would have been used to purchase certain properties of the Puget Sound Power and Light Company, including approximately $45,000,000 for the company's stockholders, and the remainder of the issue for improvements and working capital.

Clearance was refused on the ground that the issuance would be violative of one of the criteria set up by the National Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee for judging the inflationary or non-inflationary effect of municipal bond issues. That unit had held that financing should be postponed in the case of bonds to be issued for the purchase of privately owned utilities by municipalities, which involves borrowing to replace equity capital.[1]

The public acquisition of the Puget Sound company facilities has been generally anticipated for some years, and one of the system's most important components—the distribution system serving Seattle and its environs — passed to public ownership last year when Seattle purchased it after prolonged negotiations. One of the company's principal hydro-electric generating plants also passed, by lease, to a public utility district last year and condemnation actions have been started against other components of the system so that a speedy clearing up of the disposition of the remainder of the system, as well as its integration into the publicly owned systems, has become a pressing matter. Representatives of both the public utility districts and the utility company indicated that "the Credit Restraint Committee's action will not deter our joint efforts toward an over-all purchase."

The credit restraint committee's action also placed in jeopardy the efforts of three public utility districts in eastern Washington to purchase certain properties of the Washington Water

[1] See the REVIEW, June 1951, page 319.

Power Company with proceeds of upwards of $65,000,000 of electric revenue bonds. This company is wholly owned by the American Power and Light Company, a holding company under "death sentence" of the utility holding company acts of the 1930s to divest itself of its holdings in the operating unit, the last it still holds.

This situation is tremendously complicated, since both Washington and Idaho are involved and both local government and stockholder groups are in disagreement. Proceedings between the company management and the utility districts, however, had reached a point where the deal appears to be imminent, and announcement of a bond issue to finance the purchase was expected some time in early spring.

At the state-local level, the refusal of clearance of the public utility district bonds appeared likely to bring out in the open rising dissatisfaction on the part of local government agencies with the entire defense production program as it affects state and local units. To support their view it could be pointed out:

1. The criterion applied in the utility district–Puget Sound company case had little realistic significance since, while the replacement of equity capital with debt capital might in theory be inflationary, in practice this aspect of the transaction would be of negligible effect. Said Puget Sound President Frank McLaughlin of the theory, "it is not felt that this [objection] can be supported by proven facts in Puget's case."

2. The Credit Restraint Committees are voluntary, with only a tenuous legal standing, whereas the state and local governments are acting pursuant to clearly defined law and generally at the specific direction of the voters expressed at a referendum. The governors of both West Virginia and Oregon, whose bonus bond issues were vetoed as inflationary, cited the legal mandate to issue the bonds.

3. The attempt to deal with the inflation problem as it touches state and local governmental expenditures through voluntary credit controls is putting the cart before the horse. If shortages and defense requirements really call for controls, they should be spelled out through a system of priorities and allocations similar to those used in World War II, exerted at the point where material and labor are committed, not at the financing level. Moreover, while the states and local units have complied almost without exception with the Voluntary Credit Restraint Committee rulings (the private placement of part of the West Virginia soldiers' bonus bonds is the outstanding exception), the federal agencies have shown a marked lack of understanding of local government needs for operating supplies and materials for construction purposes and have been niggardly in their allocations to local government.

New York City Faces Deficit, Struggles to Balance Budget

The City of New York, with a budget second only to that of the federal government itself, faces a $17,000,000 operating deficit for the current fiscal year ending June 30, 1952, and must raise $200,000,000 of new revenues if it is to balance its budget for 1952-53, according to statements by Mayor Vincent Impellitteri.

The prospective $200,000,000 deficit for 1952-53 represents, according to the mayor, about $57,000,000 to increase salaries and wages, $40,000,000 for mandatory pension contributions, at least $16,000,000 for education, $14,000,000 for hospitals and charitable

institutions, $34,000,000 for transit deficits and $12,000,000 for service on short-term debts. The prospective total for 1952-53 is placed at more than $1,500,000,000 compared with the current budget of $1,336,000,000.

To help meet the higher costs the mayor has suggested a constitutional amendment to raise the city's tax rate limit from 2 per cent of assessed valuations to 3 per cent—a procedure requiring passage by two successive state legislatures and approval by the state's voters at the succeeding election and hence not a method of meeting the impending need for additional money for 1952-53.

Meanwhile, he has suggested consideration of a number of alternatives, although noting that "Personally, I don't like any of them." They include state assumption of about $14,000,000 of the expense of higher education (municipal colleges); increased state reimbursement for tubercular patients ($5,000,000) and for certain welfare services ($21,500,000); an admissions tax, $12,000,000; charges for over-night parking on the streets, $12,500,000; tax on realty sales, $25,000,000; check tax, $8,000,000; cigarette tax, $15,000,000; and increases in the gross receipts (sales) tax ($60,900,000) and tax on utility bills ($28,000,000).

Cities Finance Sewage Disposal Operations by Service Charges

The use of sewer service charges to finance operation of sewage disposal systems of cities is increasing. Oklahoma City is the most recent large city to levy a sewer service charge, reports the International City Managers' Association. In that city one- and two-family houses pay a charge of $1 and $2 per month, respectively. Other users are charged from $1 to $29 per month plus charges based on water consumed, starting at ten cents per thousand gallons per month. This ordinance, however, is being challenged in the courts in a suit seeking a restraining order on future collections.

In Mauston, Wisconsin, a newly adopted charge for sewer service amounts to 100 per cent of the water bill. Mauston's charge was imposed in order to finance a proposed sewage disposal system.

Many new sewer service levies by both large and small cities may be expected soon, the association predicted, since the legislatures of five states—Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New York and West Virginia—have authorized some or all cities and towns to levy or extend sewer service charges.

The trend toward sewer service charges is shown in a recent report by the Tennessee State Planning Commission. In that state 34 of 101 cities with public sewage systems levy such a charge. Thirteen have only a connection fee, which averages about $25. A flat rate monthly service charge ranging from 50 cents to $1.75 is levied by 30 cities, but only six of these base their charge on the water bill. The four remaining cities levy a sewer service charge only on users outside the city.

Small cities have long relied on service charges to finance sewage system operations. However, statistics gathered for the *Municipal Yearbook* showed that larger cities are increasingly using this means of financing services. Cincinnati, Minneapolis, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Philadelphia have sewer service charges in effect. In addition, at least 278 cities over 10,000 population now make similar charges.

Suburban Boom Finds Citizens on Job

Committee Aids Officials on Problems New Industry Brings

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is a synopsis of the remarks by STANLEY H. RENTON before the National Conference on Government's session on "Sprawling Cities," Cincinnati, November 27. Mr. Renton, chairman of the board of Vulcanized Rubber and Plastics Company, is chairman of the Lower Bucks County (Pennsylvania) Citizens Committee on Health and Welfare Needs.

MORRISVILLE, Pennsylvania, had a narrow escape, about 160 years ago, from becoming Washington, D. C. By a close vote, Congress decided against Morrisville and in favor of the well known location on the Potomac. Until recently, Morrisville was a small manufacturing town and residential suburb of Trenton, New Jersey, just across the Delaware River. Farming country and other suburbs of Trenton and Philadelphia surround it. The borough of Morrisville has about 5,000 population.

Then U. S. Steel Company bought 3,800 acres just south of Morrisville and announced its intention of spending $400,000,000 on an integrated steel mill. Ground was broken March 1, 1951, for the Fairless Works, five or six thousand construction workers are now on the job and, early in 1952, steel will be coming from the new plant.

For over a year there has been a boom. Housing developments are planned on every hand. Two states and three county governments are involved. On the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River the governmental setup is entirely inadequate. There are eight townships, nine boroughs and a county government in the critical defense area. In addition, numerous independent school districts are struggling with almost impossible situations. Nearly all the usual urban problems have been suddenly dumped on what was chiefly a rural community. Questions of health, welfare, recreation, sewers, water, zoning, traffic, etc., cry out for answers.

To meet these situations the borough council of Morrisville appointed an able planning board and created a municipal authority to get around the borough's debt limitations and make possible modern water and sewer systems. It is seriously considering appointing a borough manager, who is badly needed.

Meanwhile, the company with which I am connected felt that as one of the oldest firms in Morrisville a civic responsibility was imposed on it. In February 1951 it asked 25 of the leading business and professional men of the community to have dinner together. These 25 men formed themselves into a Greater Morrisville Citizens Committee, which meets twice a month to discuss problems, to bring together the public officials of the various towns and boroughs and to assist wherever they can.

As an outgrowth of this committee, there has been formed another group which is making a survey of the health, welfare and recreation needs of the area and which plans to organize shortly a Council of Social Agencies. Other groups are working on other problems.

Confronted with a situation such as this, public-spirited citizens must put their shoulders to the wheel, and so

must the local business men, industrial leaders and governmental officials. Detailed plans need to be made in connection with each problem and then the civic leaders must stay behind these plans in order to make possible a rapid and satisfactory change-over from rural and suburban to modern urban conditions.

So far as the citizens are concerned, it is necessary to organize a really representative group which shall do at least four things:

1. Define the problems and find out what is being done about them,
2. Help officials and other groups to do the necessary planning,
3. Help fill in the gaps in the organizations working on the problems,
4. Follow the plans through by means of regular progress meetings until they are completed.

All this the committee is endeavoring to do.

Canadian Citizens Organize for Citizenship

The Canadian citizenship act of 1946, one of the final steps for Canadians toward full legal sovereignty, pointed up the need for all Canadians to understand the full meaning and implication of their citizenship. The flow of immigrants during recent years — war brides, displaced persons, Britons, Dutch and other Europeans seeking new homes and new life—increased the need for citizenship education.

To meet the challenge, the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship broadened its membership and expanded its activities. In 1948 it became the Canadian Citizenship Council, which was unanimously endorsed by some 99 agencies—federal and provincial departments, national service, education and welfare groups, labor and industry —in a resolution adopted at a national conference in Montreal.

The council is, to quote its descriptive leaflet, "the national voluntary coordinating body for all the public and private agencies which are working locally, provincially and federally to help us all be better Canadian citizens." Its purpose is to develop in all Canadians:

"A constantly growing appreciation of the meaning and implications of democracy as a way of life;

"A better understanding of the nature, privileges and obligations of citizenship;

"An appreciation of our cultural and social heritage;

"A mature pride in Canada.

"The council is achieving this broader awareness of the meaning of citizenship through (1) the integration, evaluation and allocation of citizenship problems and projects submitted by member organizations and (2) the provision of resource materials, information, staff and consultation services."

The council has a national office in Ottawa. Its information bulletin, *Citizenship Items,* appears monthly. Its pamphlets include: *So We May Know More About Canada Citizenship and Democracy* (14 pages), *Responsible Citizenship in Fifty-one—Report and Proceedings of the First National Conference on Canadian Citizenship* (64 pages), and a series under the general title, *The Democratic Way,* which deals with such matters as *Freedom and the Law* (20 pages) and *Democracy and the Political Party* (24 pages).

Lane Bryant Awards Made

At its annual award luncheon, held on December 17, the Lane Bryant department store of New York City presented its annual award of $1,000 for outstanding service to the community to the Catholic Interracial Council of Delaware. This is a new group, with headquarters in Wilmington, primarily concerned with im-

provement in race relations. Its two major accomplishments are the breaking down of segregation practices, particularly in schools and theaters, and the securing of employment opportunities.

Honorable mention was bestowed on three organizations and one individual for their community activities: The Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference of Chicago, formed to unite residents and property owners of all races, creeds and national backgrounds in a community housing program; the Fountain House Foundation of New York, first community center organized in the country for rehabilitation of former mental patients; Rev. R. Norman Hughes, of Bay City, Michigan, for his work in securing low rent housing for his community; and the Citizens Committee on Children of New York City, a group of a hundred experts in various fields affecting children, which has helped procure kindergartens, health stations and day care centers in public housing projects; helped launch the city foster home program; developed training courses for personnel working with troubled children; and aided in many other activities.

Judges for the 1950 award were Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, of the United Nations; U. S. Senator Paul H. Douglas; Mrs. Hiram Cole Houghton, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs; Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, president of the Child Study Association of America; and Hon. Ruth Bryan Rohde, former minister to Denmark.

* * *

Communities Make Surveys

Committees of three small Indiana communities—Vevay, Eaton and Dugger—are conducting surveys with the aid of Community Service in Adult Education of Purdue University. Field consultants have been working with local citizen groups to help devise necessary techniques. Subcommittees, working under a chairman, are each gathering and interpreting information on one phase of the community, i.e., physical, economic, historical, political, health, educational and sociological conditions. The results of the studies are expected to provide material upon which each community may base a program of development and improvement. The studies are the beginning of a larger research project to determine the need for adult education programs in small places. All told, 24 communities will be covered.

'Be Aggressive'

The People's Association for Better Municipal Government of Columbia, Missouri, celebrated its first year of achievement in December. Chief speaker was City Manager Gene Perkins, who expressed the hope that "this association will stay active. Above all else," said Mr. Perkins, "be aggressive. Have a continuing program and take positive stands. This is your government. Stay in there and pitch."

The association has as its purpose, "To develop and maintain interest of the citizens of Columbia in the success of the council-manager form of government and in the continued improvement of its operation."

Commenting on the meeting, a local newspaper said, editorially, that "If the lively and widespread public interest which prevailed during the process of writing Columbia's home rule charter could be maintained, we would soon have the best city government in the country."

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Training Programs for Public Officers Grow

Universities Tailor Courses to State, County, Local Needs

GREAT strides are being made in the training of elective public officials and in training programs for public officials generally, according to Emery Olson, dean of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California.

This observation by Dean Olson, in closing a panel discussion on "Training for Public Office" at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati, November 26, was amply supported by numerous thumbnail sketches of in-service and graduate training programs for state and local government officials by representatives of universities from coast to coast. As Dean Olson pointed out, the many reports of programs in progress was a great contrast to the situation only a few years ago.

The chairman began by calling on the members of the panel and others present for information and discussion on programs designed exclusively or partly for elective officials. Briefer reports were given on in-service training and cooperative and intern programs.

Courses for Elective Officials

James R. Donoghue, of the University of Wisconsin, reported that since 1948 his university has had seventeen one- to five-day institutes, chiefly for county officials. These courses, a few of which last as long as ten weeks, have received good support from such official organizations as the Wisconsin Association of County Clerks.

George H. Deming, of the University of New Hampshire, told of orientation courses for members of the General Court in that state. Although these courses are managed by the university, experienced members of the legislature do the actual teaching. Inasmuch as this is the largest of the state legislatures—399 members in the lower house — the course serves the important additional function of enabling the members to meet one another early in a given session. The cost of this six-hour course has been negligible—under $100 for the university.

Edward F. Dow, of the University of Maine, spoke of the annual four-day assessors' schools which his university has been managing for the past five years. It hopes to expand this program to include other local officials in the near future.

Guthrie S. Birkhead, Syracuse University, mentioned briefly the graduate program in public administration run jointly by New York University and Syracuse University at Albany. Although the major portions of the student body are New York civil servants, from time to time a few local officials have enrolled to obtain master's degrees in public administration.

Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas, described the university's three-day training program in assessment problems and procedures, conducted jointly with the county clerks in that state. An additional program at Kansas is the one-week training school for peace officers, formerly held for only three days. The program, at which sheriffs are the sole elective officials in attendance, has three parts: basic

instruction for recruits, advanced police science, police administration (for chiefs and sheriffs).

Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee, reported that his university was starting a short course for city councilmen in December 1951. Financed in part by the university, this is the first program of this type in Tennessee. Subject matter includes, among other things, discussion of local relationships with TVA, stream pollution problems, etc.

Alfred S. Holt, of the Public Service Institute, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, spoke of the sixteen in-service training programs his institute has been conducting since 1938 for all levels of state and local officials. With one session per week, ranging in length from six to 24 weeks, these courses include in their clientele borough officials, assessors, etc. A system of advisory committees aids the institute in planning courses, arranging schedules, approving materials. Mr. Holt lauded the practice of giving certificates to the graduates of such courses. In a brief discussion the panel generally stressed the publicity and morale values of thus honoring or emphasizing the completion of a course of study. Joseph A. James, University of Pittsburgh, explained that his school has often cooperated in some of the courses offered by the Pennsylvania Public Service Institute.

G. W. Moore, of the Dallas Planning Council, mentioned the lectures for public officials sponsored for several years by his council and by Southern Methodist University. Certain courses in government from the university curriculum are held in the courthouse and numerous experienced or prominent public officials are called upon to lecture.

Russell M. Ross, of the University of Iowa, described two current programs: the first is similar to the Kansas University course for peace officers; the second, a one-day course for state legislators, has to date been relatively lacking in support from the legislators.

Bennett M. Rich, Rutgers University, told how for the third year his school is offering an eight-week course for local finance officers, attended also by a few city councilmen. In the spring of 1952 a fourteen-week course for assessors is being planned.

William F. Larsen, of Florida University at Gainesville, reported its offering of short courses for municipal finance officials, clerks and city managers.

Weldon Cooper, of the Office of the Governor of Virginia, wondered where competent instructors for elective officials could be obtained. He stated his belief that under ordinary circumstances the university professor is not prepared, does not possess enough practical knowledge to teach what the practitioner wants and may need to know. Mr. Holt explained that his institute schools draw on experienced practitioners for teaching, but that they usually are prepared by giving them a week-long orientation in advance. Mr. Stene said that the University of Kansas has been quite successful in using faculty members to instruct in its courses, particularly in those classes where discussion and a look at the broader aspects of a given subject are needed. No conclusions were reached on this point, although there seemed to be general agreement that there are limits to the usefulness of academic personnel as instructors for elective officials.

Joseph E. McLean, of Princeton University, asked if there is a difference between publicly supported and private universities in their conduct of such training programs: are pub-

licly supported programs necessarily limited as to the questions they can raise or the treatment they can give to other questions? Do political considerations, broadly or narrowly conceived, act as deterrents to the more effective conduct of the public institution's program? A few members of the panel spoke to this point, admitting that in their cases certain topics were tacitly withheld from discussion or sharp criticism. The audience reported a few cases of this type in other states. A general feeling was expressed that training programs for elective officials should probably never be designed with the specific aim of putting across a certain reform.

In-Service Training

Ferrel Heady, of the University of Michigan, opened discussion of in-service training programs exclusively for appointed personnel. About six courses for city managers, assessors, etc., are given each year at his university. Now that these courses have become established, the instruction is given chiefly by officials from the various professions, although in the early stages university faculty members were usually employed. He explained briefly the many manuals, handbooks and other printed materials distributed by the university to local officials.

Lee S. Greene, of the University of Tennessee, asked how successful universities have been in persuading technical personnel, engineers, water works superintendents, etc., to go beyond their limited scientific or operating problems into discussion and readings about their administrative problems as such. Very little success was indicated.

Several members of the panel noted how difficult it has been for them to get city managers to their training sessions. They claimed that managers were often active supporters and persuaded their personnel to attend the sessions, meanwhile failing to attend themselves. Mr. Larsen and Mr. Holt, however, said that city managers were the backbone of the student body in several of their programs.

Students and Interns

Walter V. Majoewsky, Cincinnati personnel officer, explained the five-year cooperative course Cincinnati is running with the University of Cincinnati. When Clarence Dykstra was city manager, a two-year cooperative course for graduate students was also held. The present program, for engineering students only, is operating very successfully. Eight of the twelve graduates last year were employed subsequently by the city.

Albert Lepawsky, of the University of Alabama, explained the southern regional program for interns conducted jointly by the Universities of Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee, plus two to three dozen city, state and federal agencies. During this twelve-month course, each student spends one quarter of his time as an intern and one quarter in each of three universities. Upon completion of the course, he is awarded a certificate and, with three months additional study, he may obtain a master's degree. Mr. Lepawsky expressed his feeling that the varied contacts of these students and the university faculty members with government officials proves of greater net worth for the officials than for the program. Many governmental agencies throughout the region are anxious to participate in the training program.

Mr. McLean explained teaching methods at the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University. During the two-year program, the student receives instruction in seminars by teams of three instructors drawn

from several social science departments of the university. A given class, for example, may be taught jointly by a political scientist, an economist and a sociologist. In the intervening summer, each student serves an internship in a government agency or with private business.

Mr. Dow spoke of the internship training program the University of Maine is conducting for town and city managers. In the summer months, when regular city or town officials are on vacation, these interns spend three months in practical work in the temporary vacancies. This internship usually occurs in the third or the fourth summer of the student's school attendance. Although the university has experienced some difficulty in finding these three-month jobs in cities or towns where the student will find the better methods and procedures in use, it has had success in placing its graduates.

Mr. Stene described the one-year graduate program for city manager candidates at the University of Kansas, which is followed by a one-year internship. During the second year the student writes his thesis, often drawing on his job for research materials; in addition, he enrolls in a seminar held at Lawrence three days every six weeks. Mr. Stene and Mr. McLean agreed that they had found their training programs to be valuable experience for the professors who conduct them.

The most profitable parts of the panel, in the opinion of this reporter, were the brief discussions about the utility of academic personnel for teaching practitioners, about the differences between publicly supported and private institutions in these programs, and about the need to introduce technical personnel to general questions about public administration.

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD
Syracuse University

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Reorganization of School Districts. By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 59 pp $1.

Report of School Building Study Committee. Des Moines, Taxpayers Association, *Civic Flashes,* December 10, 1951. 7 pp.

Museums

World Famous Museum—City's Art Museum and Companion Institutions Supported by Public and Private Funds. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* September 17, 1951. 4 pp.

Pensions

Sound and Unsound Pension Plans. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, *Bulletin,* October 1951. 2 pp.

Police

One-man Radio Patrol Cars Prove Success. Houston 2, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, *TRA Journal Newsletter,* September 1951. 1 p.

Public Welfare

Changes in Relief Laws—Revisions Since 1947 Outlined. By Harry

V. Cheshire, Jr. Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *The Tax Digest,* October 1951. 9 pp. 25 cents.

Developments in Utah's Public Assistance Programs. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* November 1951. 6 pp.

Purchasing

Report on Purchasing Organization and Methods. Prepared by Griffenhagen & Associates. Dallas, Citizens Advisory Committee on County Government, 1951. 36 pp.

Reapportionment

Congressional Redistricting. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* November 26, 1951. 2 pp.

State Government

General Management of Michigan State Government. (Staff Report No. 30.) Lansing, Michigan Joint Legislative Committee on Reorganization of State Government, 1951. 118 pp.

Streets and Highways

Report on Road and Bridge Administration in Dallas County. By Griffenhagen & Associates. Dallas, Citizens Advisory Committee on County Government, 1951. 65 pp.

Taxation and Finance

License Fees and Service Charges Help Meet Rising Costs. Philadelphia 4, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, University of Pennsylvania, *Municipal Administration,* September 1951. 2 pp.

Motor Carrier Taxes. 1951 Income Tax Legislation. 1951 Property Tax Legislation. Other Tax Changes—Tax Study. 1951 Wisconsin Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* August, October and December, 1951. 2, 4, 2, 1 and 4 pp. respectively.

1951 Legislative Session. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* August-September 1951. 3 pp.

Principles and Practices Regarding Tax Exemptions in New Jersey. Trenton 8, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, 1951. 15 pp.

Sources of Municipal Revenue. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1951. 37 pp.

Taxation: The Over-All Picture. Taxation: Property Taxes. Taxation: Inheritance, Unemployment, and Other. (Staff Reports Nos. 15, 18, 20.) Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 29, 31 and 22 pp. respectively.

Tax Facts and Comments for Long Beach, California. By Lawrence O. Jackson. Long Beach, 1951. 26 pp. (Apply author, 2042 American Avenue, Long Beach 6.)

34 Counties Cut Tax Rates—Trend Since 1945 Reported. By Maxine M McSweyn. **Tax Rates of California Cities—Actual and Adjusted to County Assessment Ratio 1950-51 and 1951-52.** Los Angeles 14, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* October and November 1951. 6 and 5 pp. respectively. 25 cents each.

The Utah State Department of Business Regulation. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report,* August 1951. 4 pp.

Traffic

Urban Congestion and Mass Transportation. By Park H. Martin. **Urban Expressways.** By William J. Cox. New York 20, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* November-December 1951. 2 and 1 pp. respectively.

Voting Machines

Voting Machines for Lucas County Surveyed. Toledo, Municipal League, *Toledo Municipal News,* October 1951. 1 p.

Books in Review

Public Administration. By Herbert A. Simon, Donald W. Smithburg and Victor A. Thompson. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950. 615 pp. $6.

Written with obvious competence, this exhaustive text on public administration is a realistic explanation of how government is managed in all its executive branches. It deals not only with national, state and local governments but also independent boards and commissions set up by Congress and the state legislatures, and government corporations. The book gives attention to the relationship between politics and administration and offers a careful appraisal of the Hoover Commission proposals. It conveys to the reader the real flavor of day-to-day administrative practices in our governmental agencies.

County Government in California. By University of California at Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research. Sacramento, County Supervisors Association of California, 1951. 143 pp. $1.50.

The County Supervisors Association of California has issued a handbook on California's county government, the first comprehensive description ever published for use by officials of California counties. This booklet, prepared for the association by the Bureau of Governmental Research at the University of California, Los Angeles, presents a thumbnail sketch of the officers, organization and functions of California counties.

The pamphlet begins with a brief history of the counties and then provides a description of some 27 offices, ranging from that of county clerk to livestock inspector. It describes also ten boards and commissions that are found in many California counties. Each county service and the methods used to administer it are described briefly. The major sources of county finances, such as the property tax, various non-property taxes and borrowing, are discussed. Staff functions, such as budgeting, purchasing, personnel and planning are described. Brief consideration is given to county home rule and other relations between the state government and the counties.

This is an admirably concise report on the complicated county government structure in California. As such it should prove interesting to students and practitioners of county government alike. E. A. M.

The Code of the City of Phoenix 1951. Phoenix, Arizona, Office of the City Clerk, 1951. 693 pp. $5.

This codification represents the first compilation of Phoenix ordinances since 1939. It is the first code adopted as a whole under a 1951 legislative act authorizing municipalities to adopt codes by reference.

The book contains a history of Phoenix prepared by Barry M. Goldwater, city councilman, in collaboration with James M. Barney, author of a previous history; the city charter; civil service law; administrative code and general ordinances.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Absentee Voting

Absentee Voting by Wisconsin Servicemen. The Procedure under 1951 Legislation. Madison, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, 1951. 18 pp. $1.

Agriculture

Food and Feed Reserves. By Murray R. Benedict. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1951. 52 pp. 50 cents.

Assessing

Standards for Assessing Real Property. Prepared by Public Administration Service for and in cooperation with The Scientific Classification and Assessment Project, Department of Finance of Puerto Rico. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1951. 67 pp. $2.50.

Debt

Public Bonds for Private Purposes. By Robie L. Mitchell. (Address before the Municipal Forum of New York.) New York, The Municipal Forum of New York, 1951. 12 pp. (Apply William J. Riley, c/o Drexel & Company, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Suggestions for Determining the Best Bid on a School Bond Issue. By William B. Castetter. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, School of Education, Educational Service Bureau, 1951. 16 pp. 75 cents.

Directories

Directory of Agencies and Officers of the Territory of Hawaii. Honolulu 14, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1951. 64 pp. 60 cents.

Education

School Board Handbook. By L. W. Chesney. Topeka, League of Kansas Municipalities, 1951. 152 pp. $5.

Housing

International Glossary of Technical Terms in Housing and Town Planning. (English, French, Dutch, Italian and Spanish). Edited by H. J. Spiwak. Amsterdam C, Netherlands, International Federation of Housing and Town Planning, 1951. 144 pp. $3.

International Relations

The Search for National Security. Edited by Benjamin H. Williams. Philadelphia, The American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals,* November 1951. 259 pp. $2.

United States—Western Europe Relationships as Viewed Within the Present Worldwide International Environment. A compilation of research reports, documents and other pertinent information designed to be used as a background for discussion. New York 27, Columbia University, Graduate School of Business, The American Assembly, 1951. 218 pp.

Motor Vehicles

48 States . . . United! To Achieve Uniformity of Motor Vehicle Laws. Washington 4, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1951. 16 pp. Illus.

Municipal Government

Facts about Tokyo. (A special number of the *Tokyo Municipal News.*) Tokyo, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, The Council on Liaison with Foreign Cities, 1951. 48 pp. Illus.

Population

Internal Migration and Mobility in the United States—March 1949 to March 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 14 pp.

Price Control

Price and Wage Controls. By The Research and Policy Committee. New York 22, Committee for Economic Development, 1951. 44 pp.

Shopping Centers

Shopping Centers That Offer New Ideas. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* December 1951. 4 pp.

State Government

Readings and Materials in Louisiana Government. By Emmett Asseff

and Kimbrough Owen. Baton Rouge, 1951. vi, 340 pp. (Apply authors, Louisiana State University.)

Streets and Highways

The Facts Are Crystal Clear. Town and City Streets Are Highways . . . Vital Links in Colorado's Highway System. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1951. 16 pp. Illus.

Statement of Policy on Highways, Traffic and Parking. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities,* January 1952. 12 pp. 10 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Financial Control and Administration. By Irving Tenner, Eugene C. Lee, etc. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance,* November 1951. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Income Taxation. A List of References with Annotations. Detroit 26, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 9 pp.

The New York State and Local Tax System 1951. Albany 1, State Tax Commission, Research and Statistics Bureau, 1951. 32 pp.

Oklahoma Sales Tax. Including Operations of the Use Tax and Coin Device Licenses. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1951. 38 pp. Tables.

A Review of Federal Municipal Grants and Controls as of July 12, 1951. By Carl H. Chatters. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1951. 4 pp.

Summary of City Finances in 1950. The 474 cities covered are those having over 25,000 inhabitants in 1950. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1951. 13 pp.

Total Tax Collections in 1950. Princeton, New Jersey, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* October 1951. 8 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Awards and Citations Offered in the Field of Traffic Safety. A Survey. Chicago 11, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1951. 9 pp.

Civilian School Crossing Guards Replace Regular Police. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1951. 3 pp.

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion for March. Theme: **Motor Manners.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme January 1952: **Winter Hazards;** Theme February 1952: **Know and Obey Traffic Laws.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1951. Variously paged.

Traffic Is a Two-Edged Sword. By Pyke Johnson. Washington 6, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1951. 12 pp.

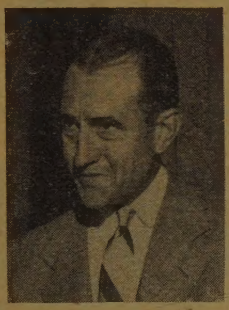
Water

Flouridation of Public Water Supplies. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1951. 10 pp.

Water for Industry. A Review of Water Resources Affecting Industrial Location. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1951. 32 pp. $5.

Seed Aids New Civic Group in Miami

One of the many newer civic organizations which have been established throughout the country in recent months, the Citizens' Action Committee of Miami held its first installation dinner January 17, with Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services for the National Municipal League, participating.



Allen H. Seed, Jr.

Mayor Chelsie Senerchia of Miami, expressing official pleasure over increased citizen interest in public affairs, installed the following officers:

M. L. Todd, chairman; Mrs. Helen Russell, Stephen Szabo, William Crawford and Leon Fornel, vice chairmen; Walter Frederichs, treasurer; and Mrs. Estelle Quisler, secretary.

Mr. Seed conferred at length with officers of the Citizens' Action Committee, a group formed to work for the improvement of Miami's government, on problems of organization and program and put them in touch with similar organizations in other cities.

In the last municipal election the committee successfully backed candidates for the city commission.

The committee and the Dade County Research Foundation, of which John F. Willmott is executive director, currently are applauding the city commission's decision to institute a nationwide search for the best available city manager for Miami.

In recent weeks Mr. Seed has spoken or conferred with citizen leaders in Richmond, Virginia; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; Tampa and Jacksonville, Florida; Savannah and Atlanta, Georgia.

He will speak February 12 in Houston, Texas, before the Torch Club after conferences in Birmingham, Alabama, and New Orleans.

Income, Membership Increase in 1951

The continuing deep concern of citizens for civic improvement was reflected by marked increases in 1951 in the National Municipal League's income and membership.

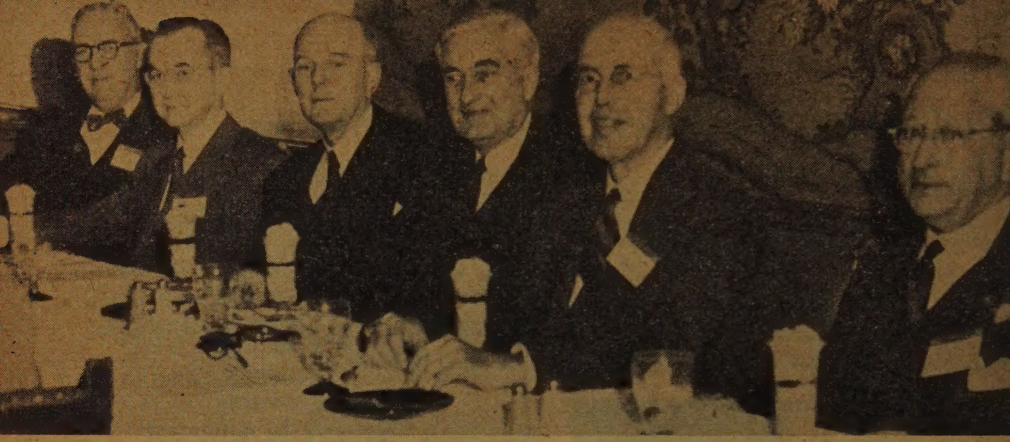
Income was $101,060.97 as compared with $75,493.82 in 1950. A substantial part of the increase was from businesses and individual businessmen.

The number of members, which has been climbing steadily since the low point during World War II when many were in the armed forces or with the government in civilian capacities, increased approximately 7 per cent during the year.

Bruère Gets Medal for Civic Service

At the twentieth anniversary dinner January 3 of the Citizens Budget Commission, a New York civic organization, Henry Bruère, president of the National Municipal League, was one of six men who were awarded medals for exceptional citizen service in civic affairs.

Each received a bronze medal inscribed "For high service to the City of New York" which depicts the classical figure of a man representing citizenship receiving a torch ignited from the altar of faith and courage by a female figure symbolizing civic duty.



Three candid camera shots of the annual meeting and dinner of the NML's Council and Officers November 26, at Cincinnati. Above, left to right: William Collins, finance chairman; Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary; Henry Bruère, president; Charles Edison, chairman of the Council; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Executive Committee; Carl H. Pforzheimer, treasurer.

Above, left to right: Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Grand Rapids; L. E. Marlowe, Richmond (Va.); E. D. Dodd, Toledo; Alex R. Thomas, San Antonio; L. P. Cookingham, Kansas City; Mrs. Virgil Loeb, St. Louis; Murray Seasongood, Cincinnati; George S. Case, Jr., Cleveland; Harold S. Buttenheim, New York.

Below, left to right: Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., St. Louis; John W. Agnew, Boston; Allen H. Seed, Jr., director of field services; F. E. Schuchman, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Maurice H. Noun, Des Moines; Leonard F. Ramberg, Minneapolis; Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich (Conn.); Lee M. Sharrar, Houston; Herbert Emmerich, Chicago; Ben B. Ehrlichman, Seattle; Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati.